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THE HISTORY OF THE HERCULEAN STRAITS, NOW CALLED THE STRAITS of GIBRALTAR:

INCLUDING

Thoſe PORTS of SPAIN and BARBARY

THAT LIE CONTIGUOUS THERETO.

IN TWO VOLUMES.

Illuſtrated with ſeveral COPPER PLATES.

By Lieutenant Colonel THOMAS JAMES,
Of the ROYAL REGIMENT of ARTILLERY.

K

VOL. I.

LONDON:
Printed by Charles Rivington for the AUTHOUR;
And ſold by J. and F. RIVINGTON in St. Paul's Church-yard; T. CADELL in the Strand; and J. DODSLEY in Pall-Mall.

MDCCLXXI.

RICHARD MAITLAND

DEAN CORONET

WHEN I had finished the following

Mss

To the Honourable

RICHARD MAITLAND.

DEAR COLONEL,

WHEN I had finiſhed the following ſheets, which I do myſelf the unſpeakable happineſs to lay before you, I was not at a moment's loſs for an honourable patron to whom to dedicate my labours, indulged between king and country; becauſe I have often been convinced of your eſteem, by repeated favours, in field, garriſon, and quarters.

You may one day, good Colonel, have the honourable command of that diſtinguiſhed fortreſs of Gibraltar, reſting a ſecond Hercules, from the many labours which you have performed for the good of mankind and your country: theſe ſheets therefore may ſave the diſagreeable ſearch into many authors for the real truths of thoſe remarkable events that have happened in the Herculean Straits.

May

May I, Sir, ſee the day, when your name may be among the governours of Mons Calpe, one of the famed pillars of antiquity: Han honour, no way, I hope, improbable, for a gentleman ſo deſervedly enrolled among thoſe worthies, which the pagan poet ſpeaks of ſo many ages ago, and at a time when the veteran was rewarded:

Warriours, who greatly for their country bled;
Prieſts, whoſe chaſte lives by ſtricteſt rules were led;
Bards, whoſe pure lore th' inſpiring gods expreſs'd;
Sages, whoſe life with new inventions grac'd;
All friends to man! by gracious deeds approv'd;
By grateful man remember'd and belov'd.— VIRG.

The love of our country is the love of mankind; the loving mankind, is loving one another: and this is the principle laid down by our bleſſed Saviour, as the very mark and criterion of a Chriſtian: "A new com-
"mandment I give unto you, that ye love
"one another; even as I have loved you,
"that ye alſo love one another. By this
"ſhall

"shall all men know, that ye are my disci-
"ples, if ye have love one towards another."

Here the Christian and pagan doctrines are the same; for merit will sooner or later have its reward: and, as Cicero says, "For those "who have preserved, assisted, and aggran-"dized their country, there is a certain and "fixed place in heaven, where they are blest "with the enjoyment of eternal life."

CIC. Somn. Scip.

If this book finds favour, the reward of the work will be sufficient to him, who, with real truth, subscribes himself,

DEAR COLONEL,

Your obliged, and

Most obedient servant,

THOMAS JAMES.

NEW-YORK, VAUX-HALL,
June 13th, 1768.

PREFACE

As the mountains of Alps and Cevennes with the Pyrenæan chain, the ancient limits of Gaul, Britain and Ireland, Thule, Scandia, and Cimbria, were known to the ancients, so the Andes, the Rocky Mountains, and the Apalachian ridge, and Canada, are to us.

The readers will observe by the great disagreement of authors, the almost impossibility of absolutely vouching for the truth of any fact. The authors therefore must be the guides in those particulars, to relate events

DEDICATION

PREFACE.

AS the mountains of Abila and Calpe, with the Herculean Straits, the ancient cities of Gadira, Tingis, Ceuta, and Carteia, have made great noiſe in the literary and martial world; and as thoſe hiſtories are greatly detached among various authours, who are not reconciled with each other's opinion; and as it would give the curious a vaſt deal of labour and pains to ſearch into ſo great a variety of books, to gain the latent facts by comparing them with each other; I was induced with thoſe ſmall abilities which God has beſtowed upon me to throw together a compilation of the true hiſtory, extracted and blended, of thoſe cities, ſtraits, and coaſts thereof, both of Spain and Barbary, for the ſatisfaction and amuſement of thoſe gentlemen in particular, who may have the honour of reſiding in that moſt valuable fortreſs of Gibraltar, one of the richeſt jewels that adorn the Britiſh crown. And as I reſided ſix years in that garriſon, I thought it an obligation due to the public, to write this hiſtory of Calpe, Abila, Tingis, and Gadira.

The reader will obſerve by the great diſagreement of authours, the almoſt impoſſibility of abſolutely vouching for the truth of any fact. The authour was therefore under the diſagreeable neceſſity, in ſome particulars, to relate

events

events various ways from different authours, particularly of the Mooriſh invaſion, which he hopes the candid reader may excuſe.

I ſhall only obſerve, that my endeavour has been to get the truth of all hiſtory, relative to my deſign; and have taken the ſame liberty, comparing ſmall things with great, as the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory have done: in which, to uſe the words of an ingenious gentleman, whom they have copied in this reſpect (1): "To tranſlate, to imitate, or even lite-"rally to introduce any parts of the authours, from "whom I have made my collection, if I found them "conducing to the uſe or ornament of my deſign, "not being able to diſcover any merit or cunning in "varying the ſtile and ſenſe of an authour for no "other purpoſe than to conceal the ignorance of the "tranſcriber, or to deſtroy an obligation of gratitude, "which ought to be confeſſed to all mankind."

(1) Mr. Lewis, in his preface to his Origines Hebrææ.

CON-

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THE

THE HISTORY OF THE HERCULEAN STRAITS.

BOOK I.

CHAP. I.

Of Calpe and Abila, their names and antiquity; with Carteia, Tartessus, Heraclea, Gadira, etc.

THE hill Gibraltar was the Mons Calpe of the Ancients; a ſouthern promontory of Spain, and almoſt the neareſt to Africa. The Arabic גלפא or Phœnician name (1) ſignifies an earthen veſſel, or hollow mountain reſembling a veſſel: for on the weſt ſide, and facing the ſetting ſun, it is open like an urn or pitcher, and is deſcribed by the ſcholiaſt on Juvenal and Mela, and thence, ſays Sammes (2), it had its name. This is that mountain of which Pomponius Mela gives ſo perfect a picture, and in which many ages have made no alteration; "The (3) "narrow ſea then opens, and the mountains Abila and Calpe "make the coaſts of Europe and Africa appear nearer to each "other than in reality they are; both theſe mountains indeed, "but Calpe more particularly, ſtretch themſelves toward the ſea." Then, after deſcribing the cave, which wonderfully appears a falling ruin; in the middle, and on that part of Mons Calpe,

(1) Ainſworth, Littleton, &c. (2) Brit. p. 20. (3) Mela, Lib. II. c. vi.

facing the ſetting ſun, he obſerves, " That beyond this is a bay, " where (as ſome think) Carteia is placed, formerly called Tar- " teſſus, which the Phœnicians, who came from Africa, inhabited." Strabo (4) writes thus of it: " At that place ſtands Calpe, a " mountain in Spain, and forty furlongs diſtant, is the ancient and " famous town Calpe, formerly a ſtation for the ſhips of the Spa- " niards; the town is reported to have been built by Hercules, " as among others Timoſthenes, who ſays it was anciently called " Heraclea; and there is ſhewn to this day a large compaſs of " walls, with the ruins of a dock for ſhips."

Caſaubon, in his notes upon this paſſage, is of opinion, it ſhould be Καρ]ηϊα πολις, for, ſays he, the thing itſelf ſhows, that Carteia is meant; and it may be gathered hence, that as often as mention is made of it below, nothing is ſaid of its ſituation any where elſe; but a town called Calpe, is not even mentioned by any of the Ancients. Marcianus Heracleotas (5) makes Carteia fifty ſtadia from Calpe.

Bochart confirms Caſaubon's opinion, and ſays, It is likely that Heraclea was the ancient name of Carteia from Hercules its founder; and Sir Iſaac Newton (6) ſays, he was called Melcartus, from being king, prince, or governour of Carteia in Spain: it is ſufficient to obſerve, that Calpe was the name of the hill of Gibraltar, and not of a town; for no town ſtood upon the hill, or at the foot of the mountain, till the coming of the Moors into Spain, but that Carteia was called Calpe Carteia, owing to the near ſituation to ſo remarkable a mountain, and to diſtinguiſh it from itſelf; the other in Celtiberia, and elſewhere. Pliny (7) places theſe towns in the following order: Belon and Mellaria; then the ſtraits out of the Atlantic ſea; then Carteia, called Tarteſſos by the Greeks; and then the mountain of Calpe, &c. again, Calpe, the utmoſt promontory of Spain. In the preface to his third

(4) Book III. (5) Vid. Conduit's account of Carteia, Phil. Tranſ. (6) Chron. Ant. Kingd. amended, p. 109. (7) Book III. c. i. of Europe, p. 31.

book

book of Europe, he ſays, "Now the whole globe of the earth is "divided into three parts, Europe, Aſia, and Africa; the begin- "ning we take from the weſt, and the ſtrait of Gades, where the "Atlantic ocean breaking in, is ſpread into the inland and Me- "diterranean ſeas: make your entrance there, I mean at the "ſtraits of Gibraltar, and then Africa is on the right hand, Eu- "rope on the left, and Aſia before you juſt between; the bounds "confining theſe, are the rivers Tanaïs and Nilus. The mouth "of the ocean at Gades (before mentioned) lieth out in length "fifteen miles, and ſtretcheth forth in breadth but five, from a "village in Spain called Mellaria, to the promontory of Africa, "called the White, as Tyrannius Gracula, born thereby, relates. "T. Livius and Cornelius Nepos have reported, that the breadth "thereof, where it is narroweſt, is ſeven miles over, but ten miles "where it is broadeſt. From ſo ſmall a mouth (amazing to conſi- "der!) ſpreadeth the ſea ſo huge and vaſt as we ſee, ſo exceeding "deep, that the marvel is no leſs in that reſpect: for why? in the "very mouth thereof, are to be ſeen many bars and ſhelves of "white ſands, to the great terror of ſhips and ſailors paſſing "that way: and therefore many have called thoſe ſtraits of Gib- "raltar, the entry of the Mediterranean ſea. On both ſides of this "channel, are two mountains ſet as frontiers, and ramparts to "ſecure it; namely, Abila for Africa, and Calpe for Europe, the "utmoſt end of Hercules's labours: for which cauſe, the inhabi- "tants of thoſe parts call them, the two pillars of that god, and "do verily believe, that by certain drains, and ditches digged "within the continent, the main ocean, before excluded, made "way, and was let in, to make the Mediterranean ſeas, where be- "fore was firm land: and by that means the very face of the "whole earth is quite altered."

However, this ſtory of digging is fabulous, as the nature and ſite of the two continents ſufficiently teſtify; but the great love which the deſcendents of the ancient inhabitants of Carteia and Gades,

(originally Phœnician colonies) bore to their founder, king, or governour, or firſt permanent eſtabliſher of colonies, the Tyrian Hercules, (who flouriſhed about the days of Abraham) was ſo great, that they thought nothing extravagant to his god-head, who was, with Neptune, the tutelar deities of thoſe cities; having by degrees degenerated into idolatrous worſhip, from that primitive patriarchal religion which Hercules eſtabliſhed among them.

But here I muſt obſerve, that Gadira, Sepyla, Bætis, Calpe, Abila, &c. are not difficult to derive from the Phœnicians (8), who uſed the Syrian tongue, and had great affinity with the Hebrew, which was carried into Spain by the Tyrians.

This cave, mentioned by Mela, is narrow at the entrance, and wide within, like a pitcher, and now called St. Michael's cave. It is ſuppoſed (9) to have been derived from the Phœnician word Galpha, ſignifying the ſame thing; and that in Feſtus, Calparis is a kind of pitcher: but as I never yet met with the hill of Gibraltar being called otherwiſe than Calpe, I cannot ſo readily accede to that author's opinion; I ſhould rather think Calpe is a dual name and ſignification, from Cal, a harbour, and Pe, or Pen, a hill, promontory, &c. for theſe reaſons. The Britiſh word Pen, is derived from the Phœnician Pinnah (1), the cliff of a hill; that Alpin in that tongue (2) ſignifies a high mountain; that in the country of the Silures, now South Wales, there are many high cliffs, which the Britons, from the Phœnicians, call Penns to this day.

M. Rapin obſerves, that ſome derive Albion from a Greek word ſignifying white; becauſe the coaſt of this iſland appears ſo at a diſtance; others, on account of their height, imagine Albion comes from the Celtic word Al, which in that language ſignifies high; and Mr. Pezron (3) ſays, that Cale and Cala is a port or harbour, from Cal, which ſignifies the ſame thing with the Celtæ; that calo-

(8) Turquet's Hiſt. of Spain, Book 1. p. 3. Sammes's Brit. (9) Sam. Brit. (1) Idem, p. 60. (2) Idem, p. 49. (3) Vid. Ant. of Nations, p. 270.

nes,

nes (4), ſoldier's boys, ſervants in an army, that carried wood and water fit for ſoldiers, were taken from the Celtic Cale, a wood: therefore the ancient name of Calpe, might allude to a double or treble ſignification. The high woody mountain, or the harbour, or port of the high woody hill; that wood formerly grew upon this rock, I ſhall prove in the courſe of this hiſtory. Beſides the haven ſituated upon the Euxine ſea, called Calpas (5), under a goodly high land; there is a creek or ſmall harbour, ſituated in the iſland of Majorca, at about three leagues and a half from the ſmall iſland Cabrera, which is to this day called Calla-pe, where is room for ten gallies to ride at anchor (6), it being four hundred paces in length, environed with ſuch high rocks and precipices that it is impoſſible to land there: that many bays round this iſland, as likewiſe Minorca, ſtill retain the ancient name Cala, a harbour.

Pezron (7) thinks, that Bardicala, or Burdigala, Bourdeaux, came from the word Cala-is made Portus Iccius, which we now call Calais, oppoſite to Dover; that the ancient Latins turned the Gauliſh word Cal into Cale, juſtly rendering it Portus; that thence came the word Portus-cale, that is, Port a Port, Portugal, a kingdom that took its name from this city: and ſo this name is Celtic, as well as Luſitania, which amounts to as much as the country of the Luſians, who were originally Celtæ, that mixed with the Iberians. In ſhort, Liſbon ſignifies no more than the habitation of the Luſians, and that its true ancient name was Luſibona, from which they made Ulyſſibona, as if it had been the reſidence of Ulyſſes, which, ſays M. Pezron, is a fiction of the Greeks, who are full of fables. But if Ulyſſes found Calypſo in a cave (8) with her maids, in the iſle of Gades, I ſee no reaſon why Ulyſſes might not have been in that part of Spaneja now called Portugal.

That Penninus Mons, and Apenninus, the Apennine hills, come from the Celtic word Pen, or Penn, a head, top, or high place;

(4) Idem, p. 270. (5) Raleigh's Hiſt. World, Book III. Sect. xv. p. 400. (6) Campbell's Hiſt. of the Balearics, p. 27. (7) Ant. of Nations, c. ii. p. 270. (8) Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronology, p. 233.

and

and perhaps they were the Umbrians and the Sabines, who were the deſcendents of the Celtæ, that anciently gave theſe mountains of Italy this name: (9) therefore, if we, agreeably to this author, join Cal, a harbour, to Penn, Pen, or Pe, a high place, we have the Calpen or Calpe of the Ancients, ſignifying the harbour of the high hill, or mountain; as Gibraltar bay moſt undoubtedly was to the amazing rock, or Mons Calpe; particularly at the north end, where their barks moſt probably anchored; and where the Levant wind blows more ſteady.

It is clear from moſt authors, that Penn a hill comes from the Phœnician Pennah (1), and Tra from Tera, ſignifying a caſtle; which initial words occur frequently in the names of Corniſh places, which were inhabited originally by Phœnician traders, whoſe remains on our iſle, are fully deſcribed by Stukeley, Cook, Borlaſe, Camden, and others (2).

By Tre, Ros, Pol, Caer, and Pen,
You may know the moſt Corniſh men:

i. e. a town, heath, pool, church, caſtle or city, promontory, or foreland.

In that part of Gaul near the Alps, the Gauliſh Jupiter was called Penninus, and thoſe high mountains Penninæ, from the Celtic word Pen, which ſignifies a head, an height, or ſummit (3).

I am not unacquainted with the opinion of the tranſlator of Titus Livius, with John Freinſheim's ſupplement; that the origin of the word Apennine is wholly uncertain (4), though many grammarians have laboured hard to aſcertain it; Iſidorus, for inſtance, B. XIV. c. viii. of Origins, ſays, Apennines is as it were Alpes Penninæ, where Hannibal paſſed the Alps, at his coming into Italy.

(9) Pezron. idem, p. 288. (1) Smollett's Hiſt. Eng. vol. I. p. 3. (2) Camden's Remains, p. 98. (3) Univerſal Hiſt. vol. XVIII. p. 573. (4) Titus Livius, Book x. c. xxvii. p. 249. n.

Waving

Waving this remark, I ſhall proceed. The Gauls worſhipped Apollo, under the name of Belenus, which god was not the ſun (5); however, they paid religious worſhip to that luminary, though under other names. Firſt the Pennini, inhabitants of the Alps, owned for the ſun the god Penninus or Pennin, whence that chain of mountains derived its name, as may be learned from Titus Livius. "But indeed theſe mountains do not take their name from the paſ-"ſage of the Pæni or Carthaginians over them, but from that "deity, whom the mountaineers or inhabitants thereof call Pen-"ninus (6)."

Guichenon has preſented to us the inſcription that was upon the pedeſtal of a fine ſtatue that repreſented this god, under the figure of a young man naked, which was conceived in theſe terms: L. LUCILIVS DEO PENNINO OPTIMO MAXIMO DONVM DEDIT (7). L. Lucilius preſents this to the moſt powerful and excellent deity Penninus.

We muſt not however diſſemble, ſays the abbé Banier, what we are told by Cato and Servius (8), that this was not a god, but a goddeſs, whom the one calls Pennina, and the other Apennina: but both the figure and the inſcription inform us of the contrary. The hiſtorian of Savoy ſubjoins theſe words: "Upon the mountain "of Little St. Bernard, which belongs to the valley of Aoſte, is a pil-"lar of marble, fourteen feet high, dedicated formerly to the god "Penninus, upon which was a carbuncle, called Penninus's Eye: "the ſtatue of that god was afterwards carried off, and that of Ju-"piter put in its place, and then the carbuncle was called Jupiter's "Eye." 'Tis certain, however, that notwithſtanding this change, the worſhip of Penninus was not aboliſhed, and the mountaineers continued to pay adoration to him.

The learned are at a loſs to find out what god this Penninus was; it would appear at firſt ſight, that he was Jupiter himſelf, as

(5) Abbé Banier's Mythology and Fables of the Ancients, Vol. III. Book vi. c. viii. p. 274. (6) Dec. iii. l. 11. 38. (7) Guichenon. Hiſt. Savoy, tom. I. (8) Æn. iii.

the

the epithets Optimus, Maximus ſeem to inſinuate: but the author of the Hiſtory of the Religion of the Gauls (9) proves, that he was the ſun, and that the eye of Oſiris is the ſame, who in Egypt repreſented the ſun.

" The higheſt mountain of the Alps, called Rochemelon, ſays " Keyſler (1), lies on the left hand entering Italy, between Fertiere " and Novaleſe, where the traveler from his toil is well rewarded " by an aſtoniſhing proſpect over the Milaneſe, the Trevigiana, " Venice, &c. imagined to be the mountain, from whence Han- " nibal encouraged his army, by a view of the ſplendour and ferti- " lity of Italy. And that it is ſaid, a ſtatue of Jupiter formerly " ſtood upon the top of Rochemelon; perhaps, ſays my author, it " has been obliged to give way to one of the Virgin Mary, which " is now ſet up there. Maſs is annually ſaid at this place on the " 5th of Auguſt."

Mr. Sammes (2) will have it, that from the word Pen, came the mountains Penninus and Apenninus in Italy, which were derived from the Britons; Pen, with them, ſignifying a high and ſteep hill, by which name, there are many called in this iſland, as Penmanmour, Pendle, Pendennis, &c. Camden (3) ſays, " That Pen " is in Britiſh, the top of a hill or mountain;" and Sammes ſays, " The Britons borrowed their Pen from the Phœnician Pinna," ſignifying the ſame thing; and indeed the Welch diſtinguiſh the top, or higheſt part of men, women, children, &c. by this word Pen, a head. Pen (4), hath many ſignifications in Britiſh, as the head, a captain, leader, principal, chief, the beginning, the top or ſummit, the end; becauſe all theſe are as the head of the body: whence alſo it ſignifies a cape or promontory. Pen Britannicè tot habet ſignificata quot Heb. ראש Roſh. Eſt enim, caput, princeps, præcipuus, initium, cacumen, vertex, finis (5), &c.

(9) Vol. I. p. 404, & ſeq. (1) Travels, vol. 1. Savoy, 287. (2) P. 64. (3) Camd. Rem. p. 102. (4) Richard's Welch Dict. under the article Pen, a head. (5) Davis.

Many

Many mountains and hills have received their names from the Britiſh Pen. Pen (the head) is ſo well known to be uſed for hills, ſaith E. Lhwyd, that little need be ſaid: not only Pennigent and Pendley in Lancaſhire are ſuppoſed to be thence derived, but alſo the Apennine mountains of Italy, by Camden and others. Pen, caput & montis cacumen ſummum: inde Penninis Alpibus nomen, non a Pœnis, ut aliqui volunt (6).

And altho' Albion may be derived from the Greek ΑΛΒΟΣ, the Roman Albus, or the Sabine Alpus, which ſignify white, applied to the chalky cliffs of Britain ſeen from the continent; or more probably from the Celtic word Alp, or Alb, which carry the ſame meaning, as Smollett (7) and others think: yet I am apt to believe, that Albion was from the rocks on the weſtern ſhore, where the Phœnicians firſt landed, called to this day Pens, from the whiteneſs of its ſhores; for Alpin in the Phœnician tongue is a high mountain, and Alben, in the ſame dialect is white (8); therefore if you take away the C from Calpe, you have the Alpe, Alpen, Alpin, a high hill or mountain; and join the C, you have the Calpe, or Pen, of the Ancients, ſignifying the harbour or port of the high woody mountain, whoſe bold rocky promontory ſhoots out the neareſt to Africa, and thereby becomes one of the headlands of Spain.

Although Strabo calls Calpe a famous ſea-port, yet certain it is, that ancient authors are neither well agreed, nor eaſily reconciled about the ſituation, names, and other particulars relating to thoſe dark times. Thus for inſtance, (9) Calpe, which is by Strabo ſtiled a famous ſea-port, Pliny, Ptolemy, Mela, and others, only call a mountain; whence the learned Bochart and Caſaubon, have thought, that Calpe in the former, was inſerted by the miſtake of the tranſcriber for Carteia; eſpecially as no mention is made in other

(6) Bochart. (7) Hiſt. Eng. Vol. 1. p. 2. (8) Samm. Brit. p. 19. (9) Univerſal Hiſt. vol. XVIII. B. IV. c. xxiv. p. 473.

Waving this remark, I ſhall proceed. The Gauls worſhipped Apollo, under the name of Belenus, which god was not the ſun (5); however, they paid religious worſhip to that luminary, though under other names. Firſt the Pennini, inhabitants of the Alps, owned for the ſun the god Penninus or Pennin, whence that chain of mountains derived its name, as may be learned from Titus Livius. "But indeed theſe mountains do not take their name from the paſ- "ſage of the Pæni or Carthaginians over them, but from that "deity, whom the mountaineers or inhabitants thereof call Pen- "ninus (6)."

Guichenon has preſented to us the inſcription that was upon the pedeſtal of a fine ſtatue that repreſented this god, under the figure of a young man naked, which was conceived in theſe terms: L. LUCILIVS DEO PENNINO OPTIMO MAXIMO DONVM DEDIT (7). L. Lucilius preſents this to the moſt powerful and excellent deity Penninus.

We muſt not however diſſemble, ſays the abbé Banier, what we are told by Cato and Servius (8), that this was not a god, but a goddeſs, whom the one calls Pennina, and the other Apennina: but both the figure and the inſcription inform us of the contrary. The hiſtorian of Savoy ſubjoins theſe words: "Upon the mountain "of Little St. Bernard, which belongs to the valley of Aoſte, is a pil- "lar of marble, fourteen feet high, dedicated formerly to the god "Penninus, upon which was a carbuncle, called Penninus's Eye: "the ſtatue of that god was afterwards carried off, and that of Ju- "piter put in its place, and then the carbuncle was called Jupiter's "Eye." 'Tis certain, however, that notwithſtanding this change, the worſhip of Penninus was not aboliſhed, and the mountaineers continued to pay adoration to him.

The learned are at a loſs to find out what god this Penninus was; it would appear at firſt ſight, that he was Jupiter himſelf, as

(5) Abbé Banier's Mythology and Fables of the Ancients, Vol. III. Book vi. c. viii. p. 274. (6) Dec. iii. l. 11. 38. (7) Guichenon. Hiſt. Savoy, tom. I. (8) Æn. iii.

the

the epithets Optimus, Maximus ſeem to inſinuate: but the author of the Hiſtory of the Religion of the Gauls (9) proves, that he was the ſun, and that the eye of Oſiris is the ſame, who in Egypt repreſented the ſun.

" The higheſt mountain of the Alps, called Rochemelon, ſays " Keyſler (1), lies on the left hand entering Italy, between Fertiere " and Novaleſe, where the traveler from his toil is well rewarded " by an aſtoniſhing proſpect over the Milaneſe, the Trevigiana, " Venice, &c. imagined to be the mountain, from whence Han- " nibal encouraged his army, by a view of the ſplendour and ferti- " lity of Italy. And that it is ſaid, a ſtatue of Jupiter formerly " ſtood upon the top of Rochemelon; perhaps, ſays my author, it " has been obliged to give way to one of the Virgin Mary, which " is now ſet up there. Maſs is annually ſaid at this place on the " 5th of Auguſt."

Mr. Sammes (2) will have it, that from the word Pen, came the mountains Penninus and Apenninus in Italy, which were derived from the Britons; Pen, with them, ſignifying a high and ſteep hill, by which name, there are many called in this iſland, as Penmanmour, Pendle, Pendennis, &c. Camden (3) ſays, " That Pen " is in Britiſh, the top of a hill or mountain;" and Sammes ſays, " The Britons borrowed their Pen from the Phœnician Pinna," ſignifying the ſame thing; and indeed the Welch diſtinguiſh the top, or higheſt part of men, women, children, &c. by this word Pen, a head. Pen (4), hath many ſignifications in Britiſh, as the head, a captain, leader, principal, chief, the beginning, the top or ſummit, the end; becauſe all theſe are as the head of the body: whence alſo it ſignifies a cape or promontory. Pen Britannicè tot habet ſignificata quòt Heb. ראש Roſh. Eſt enim, caput, princeps, præcipuus, initium, cacumen, vertex, finis (5), &c.

(9) Vol. I. p. 404, & ſeq. (1) Travels, vol. 1. Savoy, 287. (2) P. 64. (3) Camd. Rem. p. 102. (4) Richard's Welch Dict. under the article Pen, a head. (5) Davis.

Many

Many mountains and hills have received their names from the Britiſh Pen. Pen (the head) is ſo well known to be uſed for hills, ſaith E. Lhwyd, that little need be ſaid: not only Pennigent and Pendley in Lancaſhire are ſuppoſed to be thence derived, but alſo the Apennine mountains of Italy, by Camden and others. Pen, caput & montis cacumen ſummum: inde Penninis Alpibus nomen, non a Pœnis, ut aliqui volunt (6).

And altho' Albion may be derived from the Greek ΑΛΒΟΣ, the Roman Albus, or the Sabine Alpus, which ſignify white, applied to the chalky cliffs of Britain ſeen from the continent; or more probably from the Celtic word Alp, or Alb, which carry the ſame meaning, as Smollett (7) and others think: yet I am apt to believe, that Albion was from the rocks on the weſtern ſhore, where the Phœnicians firſt landed, called to this day Pens, from the whiteneſs of its ſhores; for Alpin in the Phœnician tongue is a high mountain, and Alben, in the ſame dialect is white (8); therefore if you take away the C from Calpe, you have the Alpe, Alpen, Alpin, a high hill or mountain; and join the C, you have the Calpe, or Pen, of the Ancients, ſignifying the harbour or port of the high woody mountain, whoſe bold rocky promontory ſhoots out the neareſt to Africa, and thereby becomes one of the headlands of Spain.

Although Strabo calls Calpe a famous ſea-port, yet certain it is, that ancient authors are neither well agreed, nor eaſily reconciled about the ſituation, names, and other particulars relating to thoſe dark times. Thus for inſtance, (9) Calpe, which is by Strabo ſtiled a famous ſea-port, Pliny, Ptolemy, Mela, and others, only call a mountain; whence the learned Bochart and Caſaubon, have thought, that Calpe in the former, was inſerted by the miſtake of the tranſcriber for Carteia; eſpecially as no mention is made in other

(6) Bochart. (7) Hiſt. Eng. Vol. I. p. 2. (8) Samm. Brit. p. 19. (9) Univerſal Hiſt. vol. XVIII. B. IV. c. XXIV. p. 473.

authors of any city beſides it, in that bay; but this has been in a great meaſure anſwered by ſome learned men, from an inſcription on a medal with theſe letters, C. I. CALPE, that is, as they read it, Colonia Julia Calpe, and this they ſupport by Nicholas Damaſcenus, who ſays, that Octavius overtook Cæſar, near the city of Calphia, which is the ſame with Calpe; ſo that Strabo's text wants no amendment, and one of thoſe opinions muſt be right, either that there were ſeveral cities ſituated on the mouth of the Straits, on account of the advantageous ſituation, one of which was called Calpe, or Calpa; or elſe the Carteia, which was ſituated near the promontory of Calpe, had likewiſe taken that name from it: and accordingly the Itinerary mentions a city in the road from Malaga to Cadiz, which he calls Calpe Carteia, joining theſe names, probably to ſhew they ſignified the ſame thing. And granting, that Strabo calls Calpe a famous ſea-port, which Pliny, Ptolemy, Mela, and others, only call a mountain; yet I cannot from thence infer that a town was meant, but a famous ſea-port, or harbour only, ſo called from the hill, i. e. the harbour of Calpe, meaning the bay; for Calpe was the ſea-port or harbour of Pe, or Pen, the high hill. Or, that Pe, Penn, or Pen, was the head-land, or promontory (that projects into the ſtrait, almoſt oppoſite Ceuta in Africa, from the narrow ſandy iſthmus, on the upper end of which ſtood Carteia) of Al, the high hill, which forms the harbour Cal, now Gibraltar bay: allowing this, Strabo, Pliny, Ptolemy, Mela, and others, are all reconciled: and as for mentioning a town in the road from Malaga to Cadiz, called Calpe, Calpa, Calpia, or Calpe Carteia; and which laſt, was only intended to diſtinguiſh it from itſelf, for Carteia was divided into an upper and lower town, by a ſtrong wall and caſtle: and therefore the upper town neareſt to Mons Calpe, was called Calpe Carteia, or Calpen Carteiam, as at other times it might have been called Calpa, and Calpia. It might alſo have been called Calpe Carteia, to diſtinguiſh it from the other in Celtiberia, and elſewhere;

where; for there were other towns called Carteia, though not in Spain; and it is needleſs to ſay that Gibraltar bay is, and ever was a famous harbour, and key to the whole Mediterranean ſea: a jewel of ſo ineſtimable value, as to be one of the greateſt luſtres that adorn the Britiſh crown.

Carteia, or Calpe Carteia was ſituated at the bottom of the bay, where Rocadillo now ſtands.

I ſhall only obſerve, that no other town ſtood in the bay of Gibraltar, till the Moors invaded Spain, as ſhall be further taken notice of in the courſe of this work: the rock of Gibraltar, the Calpe of the Ancients in Europe, and Apes hill in Africa, the ancient Abila, were what they called the pillars of Hercules; though indeed the real pillars were thoſe ſet up on Gadira, now Cadiz, by Hercules himſelf.

Let it then ſuffice, that the bay of Gibraltar was frequented by ſea-faring people, as far back, as about the days of Abraham, under that great navigator the Theban, Egyptian, Phœnician, Tyrian Hercules, the Ogmius of the Gauls and Britons: the Midacritus of Pliny (1), the famous Melec-Cartha, the king of the city, which Bochart (2) ſuppoſes to be Tyre: but Sir Iſaac Newton (3) rejects this notion, and rather derives his name from his having been the founder, governour, or prince of the city of Carteia in Spain. Heſychius ſays, that the Amathuſians called Hercules by the name of Malic: he was a great navigator, and the firſt that brought lead from the Barac-Anacks, Caſſiterides, or iſlands of Britain. According to others (5), he invented the ſhell purple, by an accidental remark of a dog's mouth ſtained therewith.

This Hercules, or Melcartus, was the great and ancient god of Tyre. They anciently repreſented him in no form: his temple

(1) Book VII. c. lvi. (2) Canaan ubi ſup. cal. 709. (3) Chron. Ant. Kingd. amended, p. 111, 112. (4) Apud Bochartum, ubi ſup. (5) Incertus apud Suid. ad vocem.

had no images in it, a ſeeming, undeniable inſtance of his great antiquity (6): however, they deviated afterwards from this laudable cuſtom, as may be ſeen in the reign of king Hiram.

Acroſs the Straits, Abila rears his lofty head, one of the pillars of Hercules, as they are commonly called, and one of the principal mountains of Mauritania Tingitana: it was called Abyle (7), Abyla, Abila, Abina, Abinna, or Abenna, for ſuch a variety of names it had: Abinna and Abenna ſeem to have been names given it by the Arabs, and the others it received from the Phœnicians. They were all derived from its height, as has been clearly evinced by Aldrete and Bochart; and Sammes (8) ſays it was ſometimes written Alyba: that Feſtus witneſſeth, that this mountain took its name from the Phœnicians, ſignifying in their tongue as much as a high hill.—" Abilam vocant,

" Gens Punicorum mons quod altus Barbaro."

Ab-illaa, in the Phœnician tongue, is a high mountain, ſo is Al-aba, from whence comes the tranſpoſition Aliba for Abyla.

It has been mentioned by Strabo, Mela, Ptolemy, Silius Italicus, Ammianus Marcellinus, Feſtus, Avicenus, and others. It is now called Apes hill, an appellation which very well agrees with what has been related of it by the Ancients, or, at leaſt, the country adjacent to it. The next is thoſe of Ceuta, a peninſula, that jetts out from the coaſt of Africa, which with the peninſula of Gibraltar, forms the mouth of the Straits. This was the Septem Fratres of Mela, and the Heptadelphi of Ptolemy, almoſt contiguous to Abyla: between the promontory of Gibraltar called Europa point, and the promontory of Ceuta, which I call Africa point for diſtinction, (theſe two promontories being neareſt to each other, of any other, i. e. either from the Atlantic ocean, or Mediterranean ſea) with fierce impetuoſity runs the rapid Strait: the Strait of Gibraltar, of Tarteſſida, from the city Tarteſſus;

(6) Univ. Hiſt. vol. II. b. I. c. vi. p. 338. (7) Idem, vol. XVIII. p. 186. (8) Sammes's Brit. p. 18.

of

of Gaditanum, from Gades, now Cadis; and the Fretum Herculeum, from Hercules: for ſo many appellations has it at different times been called. This Strait will be further conſidered in the courſe of this work; for the preſent, I therefore forbear. I know very well that many think a town called Heraclea ſtood at the foot of Calpe; among others father Mariana and Turquet (9), who ſay, "The Baſtules were within the Straits, along the Mediterranean ſea, and were ſurnamed Pœni, continuing to the promontory of Charidemum, or Cape de Gates, and to Balaria now Bara, or Vera, next unto the Turdules, of which nation Calpe was, otherwiſe called Heraclea, the which at this day they name Gibraltar, near unto which in old time was the town of Carteia ſituated where Algezira now ſtands, and called Tarteſſus."

To which I anſwer, that no town but Carteia was ever built within the bay of Gibraltar from Europa and Cabereta points, until the coming of the Moors; Gibraltar and Algezira being the work of their hands, in which were many pieces of marble and other fragments carried by them to build, and ornament thoſe towns, from the ruins of Carteia, as I ſhall further explain.

I muſt not omit, that Silius Italicus ſays, that Argantonius built Carteia, who died two hundred years after the building of Rome: but if Melec-cartha was king, prince, or founder of Carteia, I can only ſay, that Argantonius was likewiſe king of Carteia; for Hercules flouriſhed many ages before this period, and I am certain, the Tyrians were the founders of that ancient city. Abraham died four hundred and ſixty-ſeven years after the flood; and Hercules was two hundred and ſeventeen years old, when Abraham departed; Hercules was the grandſon of Noah, and lived to the good old age of thoſe times, and was buried in the iſland of Gades, in the ſix hundred and eighty-eighth year after the

(9) Hiſt. of Spain.

flood.

flood. Long after this, the Phocæans (a city of the Ionians) (1) were the firſt of all the Grecians who undertook long voyages, and diſcovered the coaſts of Adria, Tyrrhenia, Iberia, and Tarteſſus, and were kindly received by Argantonius, the king of that country, who had then reigned eighty years, and lived but to the age of one hundred and twenty; though Silius Italicus writes, he lived to three hundred years (2); however, Pliny, out of Anacreon, only aſſigns him one hundred and fifty. Theſe Phocæans had ſo much of his favour, that he at firſt ſolicited them to leave Ionia, and to ſettle in any part of his country, which they ſhould chooſe; but afterwards finding he could not prevail with the Phocæans to accept his offer, and hearing they were in great danger from the increaſing power of the Medes, he preſented them with treaſure to defray the expence of building a wall round their city, which he did with ſo liberal a hand, that the whole ſtructure, comprehending no ſmall number of ſtadia in circumference, was built with large and well compacted ſtones: theſe Phocæans were expert ſailors, and had many ſhips; and becauſe they had ravaged ſeveral territories, the Tyrrhenians and Carthaginians combined together to make war againſt them, each nation with ſixty ſail: the Phocæans, on their part, fitted out their fleet, conſiſting in all of ſixty ſail; and coming up with the enemy in the ſea of Sardinia, fought and conquered; but obtained a Cadmean victory: for forty of their own ſhips were ſunk, and all the reſt having loſt their prows, were utterly diſabled: of thoſe Phocæans, who loſt their ſhips in the fight, many fell into the hands of the Carthaginians, and Tyrrhenians, who, at their firſt landing, ſtoned them to death, in the territory of Agylla: and it was not long before this action, when Argantonius died.

I cannot help obſerving, that Gades, Carteia, Calpe Carteia, Tarteſſus, and Heraclea, have been taken for the ſame place by

(1) Herodot. in Clio, p. 102. (2) Mariana Hiſt. Spain.

different

different authors, for want of rightly knowing the ſite, diviſion, and fort of Carteia at the bottom of Gibraltar bay, forty ſtadia from the north end of that mountain, and eighty from Europa point, or thereabouts. Carteia was the original name given by the Phœnicians, and divided by a wall or fort; when Canuleius the prætor manumitted the Hybridæ, the upper town was called Calpe Carteia, or rather Calpen Carteia; and the large ſquare fort above the upper town, and next to Mons Calpe, was called Heraclea, being moſt likely built by him, before the foundation of Carteia was laid: but as for Gades, and Tarteſſus, we muſt look elſewhere for them.

Tarteſſus was a city by itſelf, and pleaſantly ſituated between the two mouths of the river Bætis (3), which formed a kind of an iſland, called after the name of that city, Tarteſſida: this ancient city is celebrated by the Latin poets, as ſituated on the fartheſt verge of the weſtern ſhore.

Under (4) Melcartus, the Tyrians ſailed as far as Tarteſſus, or Tarſhiſh, a place in the weſtern parts of Spain, between the two mouths of the river Bætis, and there they (5) met with much ſilver, which they purchaſed for trifles: they ſailed alſo as far as Britain before the death of Melcartus, for Pliny (6) tells us, that Midacritus was the firſt, who brought tin from the iſlands Caſſiterides: and Bochart obſerves, that Midacritus is a Greek name corruptly written for Melcartus, Britain being unknown to the Greeks long after it was diſcovered by the Phœnicians.

Hercules having firſt built ſeveral cities in the Straits (7), paſſed them, and poſſeſſed himſelf of Tarteſſus, and Erythræa, which was called Gadira. Strabo ſays, that the Bætis formerly emptied itſelf at two different mouths into the ſea; one of which is now ſtopped up; that the Phœnicians (8) went beyond the pillars of

(3) Univ. Hiſt. Vol. XVIII. (4) Sir Iſaac Newton's Chron. Ant. Kingd. amended, 110. (5) Ariſtot. de Mirab. (6) Book VII. c. lvi. (7) Sam. Brit. p. 47. (8) Strabo, Book I. p. 48.

Hercules,

Hercules, and built cities there, and even in the middle of the African coaſt, preſently after the war of Troy.

Mariana writes (9), that on one of the mouths of the river Bætis, Mneſtheus, the Athenian, built a city of his own name, which is now Port St. Mary's, and a temple between the two branches, which was called Oraculum Mneſtheum.

The Phœnicians were the Tyrians (1), who built Carthage in Africa, and Carteia in Spain, and Gades in the iſland of that name without the Straits, and gave the name of Hercules to their chief leader, becauſe of his labours and ſucceſs, and that of Heraclea to the city Carteia, which he built, or rather to the fort; ſo Strabo (2): Mons Calpe, &c. "The mountain of Calpe lies to "the right of thoſe, who ſail without our ſeas, and forty ſtadia "from thence, is the ancient and memorable city of Carteia, built "by Hercules, formerly a ſtation for Spaniſh veſſels. Among "others, Timoſthenes ſays, it was anciently called Heraclea, and "there is ſhewn to this day (3) a large compaſs of walls, as alſo "the ruins of a dock for ſhips: Strabo died in the ſecond year of "Auguſtus, and twenty-fifth of Chriſt (4)."

The Univerſal Hiſtory places the ancient ports as follows; the firſt and next to Cales, is Portus Mneſtheus, mentioned by Ptolemy and Strabo, who likewiſe place here the oracle of that name: the next is that of Beſippo, the country of the famous Pomponius Mela, and ſome others without the Straits' mouth, Calpe, Carteia, Barbeſul, Cilniana, Salduba, Suel, and Malacca, now Malaga, within the Straits, and on the coaſt of the Baſtula: "Carteia, "Calpe, and Barbeſul, according to Mr. Conduit, but according "to Mariana, the coaſt of Barbeſula began at Tarifa, where he "imagined Carteia to have ſtood, when treating of the action be-"tween Cæſar's admiral, and Varro (5), who commanded for the

(9) Book I. c. iv. p. 9. (1) Sir Iſaac Newton. Chron. Ant. Kingd. amended, p. 109. (2) B. III. p. 140. Vid. Phil. Tranſ. No. 359. (3) Strabo, Book III. p. 140. (4) Blair's Chronology. (5) Book III. c. vi. p. 47.

"enemy;"

" enemy; that the loſs was equal, but that Varro ſhewed he " had the worſt, by putting into Tarifa, and drawing a chain " acroſs the entrance:" which of itſelf is a ſufficient proof, that Carteia could not have been at Tarifa, becauſe it is an open road, and therefore no chain could have been drawn before that town; or at Algezira, or at Mons Calpe, but at Rocadillo, acroſs the mouth of the Guadaranque: in another part of his hiſtory he places Tarteſſus (6) at Tarifa, and ſays, that running along the coaſt of the Mediterranean, there follows Malaga, and then the mouth of the Straits, formerly called Heraclea, or Calpe, now Gibraltar.

The more I conſider the ruins at Rocadillo, and the tranſactions at and off Carteia, the more I am convinced that the ancient and famous city ſtood there; I ſhall therefore dwell no longer, but conclude, that no town ſtood nearer to Mons Calpe, than at Rocadillo, the Carteia of the Ancients.

In the Phœnician tongue Cartha means a city; Carteia the city; a title worthy of its founder, who, for diſtinction ſake, was called in the ſame tongue, Melec, (king) Cartha, (of a city); for Carthada, or Carthago, is as much as a new city, in order to diſtinguiſh Carthage from Tyre.

But I muſt obſerve, that Mariana does not give the honour of founding Heraclea to the Phœnician Hercules, but to the Argonauts (7): who, after pillaging all the coaſts of Aſia, came as far as the mouth of the Straits, where Hercules built a fort called Heraclea, now Gibraltar; from whence they made incurſions, robbing the country, and had ſeveral encounters with the natives; from thence they ſailed about to Saguntum, and were well received, as being all Greeks.

Abraham, the patriarch, died one thouſand eight hundred and twenty-one (8) years before the birth of our Saviour Jeſus Chriſt:

(6) Book 1. c. i. p. 2. (7) Mar. Hiſt. Spain. (8) Blair's Chron. Plate 3.

and this Greek Hercules, the ſon of Alcmena, died but one thouſand two hundred and eighty-ſix years before Chriſt, the difference of five hundred and ninety-nine years: the former being about three thouſand five hundred and eighty-ſix years ſince Carteia was built, and Gibraltar bay frequented by ſea-faring men, under the Tyrian Hercules; and the latter two thouſand nine hundred and eighty-ſeven.

Many years undiſturbed did the Phœnicians enjoy Carteia, and the bay of Gibraltar, carrying on a great trade from Britain, Spain, Africa, and many iſles, and countries, with the famous mart of Tyre, till about the ſix hundred and twentieth year before Chriſt, two thouſand three hundred and eighty five years ago, when Argantonius (9) was king of the Tarteſſi, and probably of Carteia.

There is honourable mention made of Argantonius, who commanded upon the coaſt of the ocean, near towards Cales (1), happy in wealth, and long proſperity in all his affairs, and reigned eighty years; and withal loved juſtice. As the inhabitants of Gades, and ſome others, were kept in awe by him, and as he was king of the Tarteſſi, it ſeems as if he had wreſted the city of Carteia out of the hands of the Phœnicians: yet the Gaditanans were not ſubdued, but they took arms upon all occaſions; ſo that the people round about, conſpired againſt them: who finding themſelves not ſtrong enough to oppoſe ſo many enemies, they reſolved to call the Carthaginians to their aid, who in the end became maſters of Spain, and in courſe of Carteia: Mariana ſays, the natives under Argantonius not only checked the Phœnicians, but drove them out of all the province of Bœtica, or Andaluſia, and even out of the iſland of Cadiz; a thing the more likely, for that they were gone before to the relief of their own country, the city of Tyre being then beſieged by the mighty king Nebuchadnezzar, after he had taken Jeruſalem.

(9) Mar. Hiſt. of Spain, B. 1. c. v. p. 11. (1) Turquet's Gen. Hiſt. Spain.

Argantonius died about five hundred and fifty-three years before Chriſt, which is now about two thouſand three hundred and eighteen years ago; the Phœnicians, after this, reinſtated themſelves in Cadiz, and other places; and built Medina-Sidonia, but were once more driven into the iſle of Gadira, by Baucius Capetus, prince of the Turdetani. Carteia muſt have been in the hands of the natives: becauſe the Phœnicians were driven from the continent into Cales, and the temple of Hercules at Medina-Sidonia burnt. When Baucius died, the Phœnicians of Gades were obliged to call the Carthaginians to their aid; who, after the death of Baucius, aimed at the ſovereignty of all Spain, forgetting their friends the Phœnicians, and ſoon after took Cadiz from them, which actions rendered the Carthaginians odious to them: and particularly the inhabitants of Carteia, who were a mixture of natives and Phœnicians, maintaining their independency till Hannibal arrived in Spain (2), who took Carteia by ſtorm, and then demoliſhed it, it being a wealthy city, and the capital of that province; which ſtruck ſo great a terror into the leſs conſiderable towns, that they ſubmitted, and had a tribute impoſed upon them: Hannibal was then twenty-ſix years old, about the five hundred and thirty-fourth year of Rome, two hundred and twenty before our Saviour, one thouſand nine hundred and eighty-five years ago: it remained in the Carthaginian government, till the Romans wreſted it out of their hands: when Publius Scipio was in Spain, in the five hundred and forty-eighth year of Rome, one thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-one years ago.

For Lælius, who commanded a Roman fleet and ſea army, arrived at Carteia, having paſſed the Strait, that is, Europa point (3), at the entry whereof, this town is ſituated in a bay of the ocean. The Romans thought they ſhould have means to ſurpriſe the town of Gades, by intelligence, as they had contrived with ſome of the

(2) Titus Livius, Book xxi. c. v. p. 297. (3) Turquet. Gen. Hiſt. Spain.

inhabitants: but this buſineſs was diſcovered before the execution; the accomplices were taken, and delivered by Mago unto Adherbal, to be led to Carthage in Africa: the conſpirators were put into a galleas, which was heavier and ſlower than the gallies; he ſent it a little before, and followed himſelf with eight gallies; this galleas had entered into the Strait, when Lælius diſcovered it from the port of Carteia, and put forth alſo with a Roman galleas, and was carried by the current within that Strait: Adherbal, the Carthaginian, ſeeing himſelf ſurpriſed, was doubtful whether he ſhould fly after his galleas, or oppoſe his enemy: whilſt he ſtood thus in ſuſpenſe, Lælius came upon him, and it was not in his power to avoid the combat: they were in a rapid ſtrait, where nothing could be done after the manner of ſea-fights, either by the judgment of captains or mariners; for the ſea running high in that place, (near Tarifa) they could not manage to turn their gallies as they pleaſed, but were carried by eddy waves and currents, as well againſt their own as the enemy's veſſels, notwithſtanding their endeavours to the contrary; ſo that oftentimes they might have ſeen a galley flying, turn ſuddenly againſt that which purſued her, by the whirling of the wave, and that which chaſed her, to fly away: the gallies being in this ſtrife, it happened, that the Roman galleas, or quinquireme, by her weight and number of oars, maſtering the whirlpools better than the others, forced two Carthaginian gallies: ſtemming the one, and diſarming the other of all her oars off one ſide, as ſhe ſwiftly paſſed by her; and would in like manner have damaged the reſt, if ſhe had encountered them: but Adherbal, with the help of his ſails and oars, recovered the coaſt of Africa that was neareſt: Lælius being victor, returned into the port of Carteia in Gibraltar bay, from whence he ſoon failed for Carthage in Spain, Scipio's head quarters. In the five hundred and eighty-ſecond year of Rome, which was one hundred and ſeventy-two years before Chriſt, one thouſand nine hundred and thirty-ſeven years ago, I find an embaſſy was ſent to Rome,

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to know what ſhould be done with the baſtards, called Hybridæ, that were the ſons of Roman ſoldiers, and Spaniſh mothers, deſiring lands might be aſſigned to them: it was agreed by the ſenate, that lands ſhould be given to thoſe, whom Canuleius, the prætor, thought fit to deliver out of ſlavery, for they were ſold as ſlaves, and that he ſhould carry them to Carteia, and that it ſhould be deemed a Roman colony, which was the firſt in Spain, and called Colonia Libertinorum.

In the ſeven hundred and ninth year of Rome, forty-five years before Chriſt, one thouſand eight hundred and ten years ago, when Cæſar gained the memorable battle over Pompey's two ſons at Munda, on the ſeventeenth of March: Cneius Pompeius retreated to the port of Carteia, where his gallies were, as the town was in the Pompeian intereſt. From this time, Spain remained in the Gothic government, to the third year of king Roderic, when the country was over-run and conquered by the Moors from Barbary, in the ſeven hundred and thirteenth year of our redemption, one thouſand and fifty-two years ago: and this was the period when Algezira and Gibraltar were built with the materials from Carteia; for neither of theſe towns were in being, before the Saracens made their deſcent: thus have I traced the ancient city of Carteia to two thouſand five hundred and thirty-four years back to the death of Abraham, which was originally called Carteia, Heraclea, Calpe Carteia, or Calpen Carteiam; being the only town in that bay till the year ſeven hundred and thirteen, or ſeven hundred and eleven, as Vertot has it (4), when two others roſe out of her ruins: I ſhall therefore purſue the hiſtories of theſe towns of Algezira and Gibraltar, particularly the laſt.

(4) Vertot's Revol. Spain.

CHAP.

CHAP. II.

OF THE ROMANS AND GOTHS IN SPAIN AND BARBARY; ALSO OF THE NAME GIBRALTAR, AND COMING OF THE MOORS INTO SPAIN.

THE Romans, after they had obliged the Carthaginians to quit Spain entirely by that famous treaty, which put an end to the ſecond Punic war, continued abſolute maſters of that great country, and peaceably enjoyed it for about ſix hundred and nineteen years (1); in all which time, there were no diſturbances or diviſions worth notice, except ſome few inteſtine commotions raiſed by the ſeveral factions in the empire: but the emperours ſo far degenerated from the valour and magnanimity of their anceſtors, that the Goths taking the advantage of the effeminacy of ſuch unworthy ſucceſſors to thoſe who had been the conquerours of ſo many nations, they, under the conduct of king Alaric, went and attacked them in the very city of Rome, whilſt the Vandals, Alans, Sueves, and Silinges, loaded with the ſpoils of the Gauls and the Germans, over-run Spain like an impetuous torrent, putting to fire and ſword all that they found in their way.

The city of Aſtorga firſt felt the cruel effects of their inhumanity; they next broke into Old Caſtile, penetrated into the new, utterly ruined the neighbourhood of Toledo, ravaged the whole province of Eſtremadura, with all the country bordering upon the river Tagus, laid the inhabitants of Liſbon under contribution, carrying fire and ſword into the lower Andaluſia, the northern parts of Portugal, and into Galicia, leaving every where ſuch bloody marks both of their barbarity and impiety, that the greateſt part of the towns and cities were either utterly deſtroyed or depopulated;

(1) Idem, Book 1. p. 3.

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the churches were all pillaged, and the diſtreſſed clergy driven to ſuch extremities, that they were forced to have recourſe to caves, and the tops of mountains, for the preſervation of their lives; and what was ſtill more deplorable, was, that they who found means to eſcape the deſtructive ſwords of thoſe Barbarians, were either famiſhed, or died with the peſtilence, which was cauſed by the vaſt numbers of dead carcaſes, with which all the plains were covered: in a word, the deſolation was ſo great, that the Barbarians themſelves, though too late, became ſenſible how much they had been in the wrong, to ruin a country which they deſigned to make the place of their own reſidence; ſo that, after having moderated their hoſtilities, they divided the provinces among them, and each nation applied itſelf to the cultivation of that part which had fallen to their ſhares in the dividend: the Sueves, and ſome of the Vandals, ſettled themſelves in Galicia, which was then of a much larger extent than it is at preſent: the remaining part of the Vandals, with the Silinges, took poſſeſſion of Bætica, to which province they gave the name of Vandaluſia, and which has, by corruption, been ſince changed into Andaluſia.

I do not find in any hiſtory, at what time Carteia was demoliſhed, and indeed the confuſion occaſioned by Goths and Moors, puts it out of my power juſtly to ſay: for example; in the four hundred and twenty-fifth year of Chriſt, Gonderic, after pillaging and burning all Carthagena, broke into Andaluſia, in which is Carteia, deſtroying all the places he found in his way, and, at laſt, went and laid cloſe ſiege to Seville, which having reduced, he cruelly put all the inhabitants to the ſword.

I find, after this, the Vandal king Genſeric, was with his fleet and tranſports, with an army, ready to paſs the Straits at Gibraltar; that is, his ſhips rode in Gibraltar bay, and probably he embarked his troops at Rocadillo, as it would have been abſurd to have marched over the ſandy iſthmus to the rock, where there was no town, and a diſtance of full four miles; here the river Guadaranque

ranque preſented itſelf with an extenſive key of maſonry on its banks, at the foot of the lower town of Carteia, as its ruins ſtill ſhew. Genſeric was obliged to debark, but being victorious over the Sueves, returned to his fleet, and ſailed over into Africa, to the aſſiſtance of Boniface, againſt the Romans, over whom he gained ſurpriſing victories: ſo that Placidia, the empreſs, finding the united ſtrength of the Roman empire too weak to put a ſtop to their rapid progreſs, ſent to offer them peace, and agreed, "That they ſhould remain in poſſeſſion of all the conqueſts, upon "condition they held them of the empire, and paid a certain an-"nual acknowledgment." To this they willingly conſented, and were the more ready to accept theſe propoſals, as being ſufficiently weary of a war, the conſequences whereof, however glorious and advantageous they had been to them, had yet weakened their army to ſuch a degree, that they were ſcarce in a condition to keep the field any longer.

In the year four hundred and thirty-eight, king Rechilus marched into the province of Andaluſia, pillaging, burning, and deſtroying all he found in his way, carrying terror with him wherever he went: he gave the Romans an entire defeat, enriched himſelf with the ſpoil, and remained abſolute maſter of the country.

After this, Juſtinian ſent a powerful army into Spain, under the conduct of the patrician Liberius, who, immediately upon his arrival, began his operations by taking poſſeſſion of all the maritime towns which are ſituated on the Mediterranean coaſt, from the Straits of Gibraltar as high as the kingdom of Valencia, every one of which, joyfully ſubmitted to this new government, to deliver themſelves from the yoke of Agila the Goth, whom they abominated both for his vices and hereſy, and who was defeated by Liberius, and afterwards aſſaſſinated by his ſubjects.

In the year ſix hundred and fourteen, king Sigebert turned his arms againſt the imperialiſts, to try if he could recover out of their

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hands, all that tract of land which reaches from the Straits of Gibraltar as far as the kingdom of Valencia, &c. and in ſix hundred and twenty-four, all pretenſions to the coaſt of the Mediterranean ſea were relinquiſhed by the imperialiſts to the Goths.

In ſix hundred and twenty-four, Heraclius having received intelligence of all the loſſes which the empire had ſuſtained in Spain, ſent another patrician, as general, with an abſolute commiſſion to act as he thought convenient: upon his arrival, he found king Suintila ready in the field, and perceiving that his forces were far from being ſtrong enough to make head againſt that prince's army, he uſed his utmoſt endeavours to avoid meeting him: the Gothic king, underſtanding how much he was perplexed, ſent him a meſſage, importing, "That, conſidering the inequality of the two armies, it would be looked upon as an undertaking unpardonable "to hazard a battle which muſt inevitably prove fatal to him; "and that it muſt of neceſſity be thought an act of prudence to "prevent the entire ruin and deſtruction of the troops which the "emperour had committed to his conduct; that the moſt famous "commanders had ever held it as an unerring maxim, that neceſſity has no law; ſo that the only method which he had to take, "was to relinquiſh, by fair means, all that the emperour was poſſeſſed of within the Gothic dominions, and which he held without any better right or title than a grant made by king Leovigild, againſt all rules of equity, and without the nation's conſent:" to this if he agreed, he offered him the moſt honourable treatment that he could deſire; whereas, on the contrary, if, by any unſeaſonable obſtinacy, he obliged him to reduce him by force of arms, he muſt expect to be treated with all the rigour which the laws of war would juſtify.

The patrician, equally touched with the wretched, feeble condition of the imperial affairs, and with the uncommon generoſity of king Suintila, believed, that he ſhould do the empire a particular piece of ſervice, in ſaving from ruin the poor, helpleſs forces

which he had under his care, at the expence only of a few ill provided places, which he was wholly incapable of defending: ſo that after he had ſigned the capitulations of a ſurrender, he embarked and left the king of the Goths, Suintila, abſolute monarch of the whole peninſula of Spain, which no one before him had ever entirely poſſeſſed.

At this time, the Goths were maſters of a great part of Barbary; but in ſix hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, the Saracens being become inſolent and formidable by the conqueſts which they had made of almoſt all Africa, committed moſt aſtoniſhing ravages in all the weſtern provinces, which obliged king Wamba to fit out a very powerful fleet, and ſend it to ſea; which meeting with the naval forces of thoſe infidels, attacked them with ſuch an undaunted reſolution, that they deſtroyed and took two hundred and ſixty of their veſſels, great and ſmall, many of which were made prizes of by the Goths, and the reſt either burnt or ſunk.

I am now come to treat of Gibraltar, a name derived from a Mooriſh general, and of the ſtrange cauſe which introduced that barbarous multitude into Spain, who over-ran almoſt all Spain in three years; in which recital we muſt not entirely rely on the ſtory of king Roderic's deflowering count Julian's daughter, though undoubtedly that facilitated the deſcent.

Hiſtorians relate this famous revolution various ways, and gentlemen, relying too much on Mr. Howell's ſtory of the beautiful Cava, aſſign no other cauſe: which letter (2) is very erroneous from the beginning to the end: Emanuel de Faria y Suſa (3), is as bad; and Mariana (4), though otherwiſe a great hiſtorian, yet carries the air of the marvelous in many places of his hiſtory, as well as in this ſtory: however, to begin with Mr. Howell: There reigned in Spain don Rodrigo, who kept his court at Malaga; he employ-

(2) Howel's Letters, Letter xxxii. (3) Hiſt. Portugal, Book II. c. vi.
(4) Hiſt. Spain, Book VII. c. viii. p. 97.

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ed the conde don Julian, embaſſador to Barbary, who had a daughter (a beautiful young lady) that was maid of honour to the queen. The king ſpying her one day under an arbour, was enamoured with her, and never left her till he had deflowered her: ſhe reſenting much the diſhonour, wrote a letter to her father in Barbary under this allegory: "That there was a fair green apple "upon the table, and the king's poniard fell upon it, and cleaved "it in two." Don Julian apprehending the meaning, got letters of revocation, and came back into Spain; where he ſo complied with the king, that he became his favourite: among other things, he adviſed the king, that as he was now at peace with all the world, he would diſmiſs his garriſons and gallies that were up and down the ſea coaſts, becauſe it was a ſuperfluous charge: this being done, and the country left open for any to invade, he prevailed upon the king to have leave to go with his lady to ſee his friends in Tarragona, which was three hundred miles off: having been there a while, his lady pretended to be ſick, and ſent to petition the king, that her daughter donna Cava (whom they had left at court to ſatiate the king's luſt) might come to comfort her a while. Cava came, and the gate, through which ſhe went forth, is called after her name to this day in Malaga: don Julian having all his chief kindred there, ſailed over to Barbary, and afterwards brought over the king of Morocco, and others, with an army, who ſuddenly invaded Spain, lying defenceleſs and open, and ſo conquered it. Thus this gentleman: and no doubt the raviſhing of Cava was a ſpur to the faction, who in all probability would have dethroned Roderic, if that had not happened. In ſhort, this ſtory is greatly perplexed by ſeveral authors. But to the point: Receſuinthus the Goth (5), and king of Spain, leaving no iſſue to ſucceed him, his brothers, either for their age, or ſome other reaſons, were not thought fit to inherit. Hereupon the nobles

(5) Idem.

met, and choſe Wamba, a man of quality, who had been chief favourite of the king's. However, his reign was but ſhort, being poiſoned by Ervigius (of the family of Receſuinthus) but coming at length to himſelf, took the habit of a monk, in conformity to thoſe times. Ervigius mounted the throne, and was ſucceeded by Egica, or Egiza, who dying at Toledo, in ſeven hundred and one, was ſucceeded by his ſon Witiza, whoſe reign was diſorderly and infamous in all reſpects, but particularly noted for cruelty, impiety, and contempt of the church. True it is, at firſt he gave hopes he would prove a good prince, for he recalled thoſe that were baniſhed by his father, and cauſed all the records to be burnt, that there might remain no memory of the crimes that had been falſely charged upon them. Theſe were good beginnings had they been well followed; but it is hard to curb extravagant youth, and great power. His firſt falſe ſtep was giving ear to flatterers, at whoſe inſtigation he fell into all manner of lewdneſs: he kept a great many concubines, with the ſame ſtate as if they had been queens, and the better to cover his impiety, committed a greater by giving leave to all men to do the like, and particularly by giving (ſays Mariana) eccleſiaſtical men leave to marry. Another law alſo was eſtabliſhed, diſowning the pope. From this time, all things began to fall into confuſion, for though many were pleaſed with libertiniſm, yet ſome were zealous for the ancient laws and cuſtoms, and began to think of reſtoring the family of king Chindaſuinthus, as the only remedy againſt ſo many evils, of which he was not ignorant, and from it took occaſion to proſecute what he had begun in his father's days, which was to embrue his hands in the blood of that family.

There were living two ſons of Chindaſuinthus, brothers to king Receſuinthus, the one called Theodofredus, the other Favila: Theodofredus was duke of Cordova, and was reſolved not to go to court, as being jealous of the king. Favila was duke of Cantabria, or Biſcay, and whilſt Witiza, in his father's time, reſided in Galicia,

cia, had bore him company, with the charge of captain of his guard. Witiza ſlew him with a ſtroke of a club, as ſome think, on account of his wife. Theſe were his firſt works of hatred and cruelty, before he came to the crown. Favila left a ſon called Pelayus, who was lieutenant to his father Egica, but upon his death, retired to his eſtate in Cantabria: and count Julian, married to Witiza's ſiſter, had the charge of protoſpotarius, or captain of his guards. Witiza being come to the crown, turned his rage againſt Pelagius, or Pelayus, and his uncle Theodofredus; the latter of whom he cauſed his eyes to be put out; Pelayus indeed eſcaped out of his reach, as alſo did Roderic, ſon to Theodofredus, who was afterwards king. Theſe cruelties, and his other vices, made Witiza odious to his people; and he deſpairing of gaining their affections, reſolved to keep them under by favour; and to this end cauſed almoſt all the walls of all the cities in Spain to be demoliſhed, and deſtroyed all the arms of the kingdom, pretending it was to ſecure the peace; he perſecuted Gundericus, the biſhop of Toledo, and ſome prieſts that ſtill preſerved their innocence.

Witiza at length died, in the twelfth year of his reign, in ſeven hundred and eleven, at Toledo; but whether a natural death, or by the contrivance of Roderic, is uncertain: he left two ſons, Eba and Sicibutus: ſome people favouring theſe two youths, and others their adverſaries, there aroſe great conteſts and confuſion, which ended in a greater deſtruction than could have been imagined. Since the diviſion of the Goths about theſe two families, brought on their total deſtruction, it will not be amiſs to declare the deſcent of them both.

Chindaſuinthus, by his wife Rieſberga, left Receſuinthus, who ſucceeded him in the crown, Theodofredus, Favila, and one daughter, whoſe name is not known. Receſuinthus died without iſſue, therefore the nobles choſe Wamba to ſucceed him. Chindaſuinthus's daughter was married to Ardebaſtus, who, though a Greek,

a Greek, for his valour and birth merited the king's daughter, and had by her Ervigius, who was the beginner of all theſe calamities, uſurping the kingdom, and diſpoſing of Wamba by wicked means.

Ervigius, by his wife Liübigotona, had a daughter, called Cixilona, married to king Egica, a kinſman of Wamba: this marriage being deſigned to cut off all animoſities by uniting theſe two houſes. Of this marriage was born Witiza, that was king, Oppas biſhop of Seville, and a daughter married to count Julian: Witiza, as was ſaid above, had two ſons, Eba and Sicibutus. Theodofredus, the ſecond ſon of Chindaſuinthus, by his wife Ricilona, a noble lady, had Roderic, the plague and ruin of Spain. Favila, the third ſon of Chindaſuinthus, had Pelayus, not at all like his couſin, for by his valour the Chriſtians in Spain began to make head, after they had been caſt down and oppreſſed through the madneſs of Roderic.

Spain being in this condition, Roderic excluding the ſons of Witiza, aſcended the throne of the Goths, by choice, as is believed, of the nobles.

The kingdom was full of diſtractions, by reaſon of the ſeveral intereſts, people were grown effeminate, giving themſelves up to feaſting, drinking, and lewdneſs; the military diſcipline was quite loſt, and the kingdom of the Goths was now running to deſtruction: the new king had good natural parts, and ſeemed to be well inclined: he was hardy, reſolute, bountiful, and had excellent ways of gaining men. Such he was before his acceſſion to the crown, but no ſooner put into poſſeſſion of it, than he ſullied all theſe virtues with no leſs vices: above all, he was implacable when offended, wholly given up to luſt, and had no diſcretion in his undertakings: and, in ſhort, was more like to Witiza, than his father. This Roderic called home his couſin Pelayus, and made him captain of the guards, the greateſt truſt at court. Witiza's ſons he treated ſo ill, that for fear of worſe conſequences, they fled into

into that part of Barbary that was ſubject to the Goths, called Mauritania Tingitana. At that time, count Requila governed that province, as lieutenant, I believe, ſays Mariana, to count Julian, a man in ſuch power, that, beſides it, he had the government of that part of Spain, about the Straits of Gibraltar, and perhaps Carteia and Tarifa were his: but beſides all this, he had a great eſtate of his own, Conſuegra, inferiour to none in the kingdom. Hence ſprung all the miſchiefs that enſued: for Witiza's ſons, before they went over into Africa, had ſown the ſeeds of rebellion, and were aſſiſted by Oppas the biſhop, who was very powerful. Theſe beginnings, which ought to have been ſuppreſſed, were heightened by the accident of count Julian's daughter. I ſhall now purſue this ſtrange revolution from an author (6), who has pretty well ſifted the chaff from the grain, and who, in general, has wrote well of Spain.

An inordinate paſſion of love, or rather luſt and ſenſuality, the very ſame vice which put an end to the regal power in Rome, and which has been the ſource of ſo many diſorders in all parts of the world, exterminated the Gothic empire in Spain, notwithſtanding its foundation was ſo powerfully ſupported by arms, and the rigour of their laws, that it ſeemed equally impracticable either to ſhake or overthrow it. Rodrigo, or Roderic, after having dethroned king Witiza, appeaſed the commotions which the ſons of that unfortunate prince had raiſed in the kingdom, and had reduced them to the melancholy neceſſity of paſſing the ſea to ſeek for refuge in Africa, under the protection of count Requila, governour of Mauritania Tingitana, who had been formerly their father's intimate friend, enjoyed the peaceable ſovereignty over all Spain, his ſubjects flattering themſelves that they ſhould find an undiſturbed repoſe under his reign, to make them ſome amends for what they had ſuffered under his predeceſſor.

(6) Hiſt. Revol. in Spain, approved by the abbot Vertot, B. II. Rev. 34.

He was a prince endowed with every qualification requiſite in a ſovereign. Mariana, Gariba, and Morales, the three moſt celebrated hiſtorians which Spain has produced, ſay, after many others, that he was perfectly well made as to his perſon; that he had a noble greatneſs of ſoul, and generoſity of temper, an extenſive and penetrating wit, capable of undertaking and executing the moſt difficult enterpriſes; that he was good-natured, affable, diſintereſted, magnificent, liberal, a great lover of men of merit, and always ready to reward and encourage them; that he was exceeding valiant, and that whenever he took in hand any military expedition, he patiently endured hunger, thirſt, cold, heat, and all other fatigues of war, without the leaſt murmuring; inſomuch, that notwithſtanding he had uſurped the crown, his ſubjects willingly obeyed him without conſtraint, flattering themſelves, that he, and only he, was capable of reſtoring to its priſtine ſplendour a throne, which Witiza had diſhonoured by an infamous and diſſolute life.

No ſooner had he taken the reins of monarchy into his hands, but he gave ſhining marks of an uncommon care, by his indefatigable application to reform and regulate the many abuſes which Witiza had ſuffered to creep into the government; as likewiſe by the many ſtately edifices he erected, whoſe beauty and magnificence neither the devouring jaws of time itſelf, nor other caſualties, have been able to efface to this day.

Who could not have imagined, but that ſo promiſing a beginning would have produced a happy concluſion? but all theſe fine glaring preſages were nothing elſe but like thoſe meteors which frequently are ſeen in the air, whoſe brightneſs indeed dazzle our eyes, but draws after them a train of malignant influences which bring ruin, and deſolation upon whole nations: theſe flaſhes of ſeeming virtues were ſoon transformed into real vices, which obliged his deluded ſubjects with floods of tears to extinguiſh the fires of joy they had kindled at his coronation.

As

As no one had ever a larger ſhare of warmth, nor more apt to reſent what he thought an injury or affront, than himſelf, upon the leaſt ſuſpicion in the world, he ſacrificed to his vengeance the nobleſt and moſt illuſtrious blood in his realm; and there are ſtill to be ſeen pieces of money coined by him, whereon is repreſented an armed man, with a very fierce and ſevere aſpect, looking as if he was juſt pronouncing the ſentence of death, or, at leaſt, of baniſhment, upon an offending ſubject.

His court was the very centre of effeminacy, ſenſuality, and debauchery: the only way of aſpiring to his favour, was to excel in wickedneſs, and to be ſignalized for having committed ſome notorious enormity, nor did rewards and encouragement ſeem to be made for any others, but thoſe who rather merited correction and a gibbet.

The ſpirit of drunkenneſs and debauchery reigned throughout every place, where he was pleaſed to be preſent.

The corruption of his heart, and the depravity of his manners, were ſo exceſſive, and reached to ſo high a pitch, that, as Mariana has obſerved, he bore beyond compariſon a much nearer reſemblance to Witiza, than he did to the worthy perſon, to whom he owed his birth.

Feaſting and riotous revellings took up the greateſt part of thoſe hours, which he ought to have employed in regulating the affairs of his kingdom; and inſtead of inducing his ſubjects to the practice of virtue by a regular conduct, worthy the exalted rank which he held among them,, he drew them into all manner of vices, by the pernicious example he ſet them. Amidſt all that crowd of paſſions, which alternately enſlaved this miſguided prince, he was poſſeſſed of ſo violent an inclination to the female ſex, that one would have thought, that his whole kingdom was too ſmall to furniſh a ſufficient number of women to ſatiate his more than brutal luſt; inſomuch, that, like another Nero, being become wholly degenerate from the human ſpecies, he had not rational faculties

enough left him to comprehend, that he was haſtening towards his own deſtruction upon a full gallop, and that he was upon the very point of ſeeing one of the nobleſt and moſt flouriſhing nations in the univerſe moſt inglorioufly groaning under the ignominious yoke of the faithleſs Moors; which Barbarians, taking their advantage of the miſerable diſorders, and the contemptible effeminacy into which his debauched life and example had plunged the generality of the people, ſnatched the crown from his thoughtleſs head, and eſtabliſhed their empire over all Spain, with ſo little difficulty, that this mighty revolution has been, and ever will be, the wonder and aſtoniſhment of all, who knew the true cauſe of ſo memorable an event! the particular circumſtances of which are as follow:

It was an ancient cuſtom in Spain for the grandees of the realm to ſend their children to be educated at court: the ſons were kept about the king's perſon, as his body-guard, waited on him in his apartments, and at table, accompanied him in all his hunting matches, and followed him to the field when he went to war, where they improved themſelves in military diſcipline.

The young ladies applied themſelves to the queen's ſervice, under whoſe care and protection they were taught all ſorts of curious works, ſinging, dancing, muſic, and every thing elſe that was conformable to their birth and degree. When they were come to a certain age, their majeſties procured ſuitable matches for thoſe, who were deſirous of a married ſtate, and put the reſt in a method of purſuing that ſort of life which was moſt agreeable to their inclinations.

Among the young ladies, who made up the retinue of Egilona, king Roderic's ſpouſe, there was one, who diſtinguiſhed herſelf from among all the reſt, as well by her illuſtrious birth, as by the charms of her moſt raviſhing beauty, being indeed a perfect maſter-piece of nature!

She was the only daughter of one of the greateſt lords in all Spain, whoſe name was Julian, count of Conſuegra, and governour

of

of the coaſts of Andaluſia, and her mother was a princeſs of the blood royal.

The moſt credible hiſtorians call her Cava, though ſome writers affirm her name to be Florinda: nothing could poſſibly exceed the charms of her exquiſite beauty, but thoſe of her great merit and virtue.

Her conduct ſerved as a model and rule for all the court ladies to follow: as ſhe was one day diverting herſelf with ſome of her companions, at their uſual recreation in the palace garden, the claſp of her garment chanced to get looſe, and diſcovered all the blooming beauties of her delicate neck and boſom: the king, who was looking at her out of a window, no ſooner beheld that enchanting ſight, but he fell deſperately in love with her: he ſighed a long time in ſecret, without having the aſſurance to divulge the violence of the paſſion which conſumed him. However, he was fully reſolved to indulge his appetite, at any price ſoever; but that was a matter not eaſy to be accompliſhed. He muſt have a favourable opportunity, which very ſeldom happened. On one ſide, the lovely Cava conſtantly paſſed the greateſt part of the day in the queen's company, and the reſt of her time was taken up, on the other, in recreating herſelf with the count her father. This conſtraint was very diſagreeable, and contrary to the impetuous humour of king Roderic, who was extremely violent in all his paſſions, and had an inſuperable averſion to long fruitleſs ſighing.

In order to remove the principal obſtacle which oppoſed his ardent deſires, he determined to get rid of count Julian, by an artful ſtratagem, under the pretext of ſending him on an embaſſy to Mouſa ben Naſſir, who was viceroy of Africa, for Walid the firſt, caliph of the Saracens.

He was ſcarce departed from court, but the libidinous, ſenſual monarch, no longer able to conceal the ſufferings of his heart, acquainted the amiable Cava with the violence of his love; neither did he forget or omit any one particular, he imagined might be

capable of making an impreſſion on her heart. Sighs, tears, offers, and promiſes, were profuſely expended to make that beautiful creature ſenſible of a paſſion, which ſhe could not think on without horror and trembling. Her virtue prevailing over the reſpect ſhe owed her ſovereign, ſhe loaded him with injuries and reproaches, giving him the moſt infamous and opprobious language imaginable, which incenſed him ſo far, that, paſſing from careſſes to the moſt outrageous brutality, he violated the chaſtity of that lovely virgin, whoſe reſentment was ſo great, that after having ſeriouſly reflected upon the method ſhe was to take, that ſhe might be completely revenged for the injurious inſult ſhe had received from that raviſher, ſhe determined to write to her father the following letter:

" Would it had pleaſed the Almighty, my deareſt father! that " the ground had opened and ſwallowed me up, rather than I had " ever lived to ſee myſelf reduced to this wretched neceſſity of " writing, to give you the knowledge of a diſgrace, which will " cauſe in your breaſt an eternal diſquiet! the innumerable tears, " which have all blotted and almoſt effaced this whole letter, will let " you underſtand the violence I do myſelf in writing to you ſuch " unwelcome news: but I apprehend, that, if I ſhould defer it " one ſingle moment, I might leave room to doubt, whether at the " ſame time when my body was defiled, my ſoul was not likewiſe " ſtained with an indelible blemiſh. Who can ever put an end to " our misfortunes, except you repair the inſult which has been done " to us? ſhall we ſtay till time makes public what is, at preſent, " a ſecret, when we ſhall be covered with an opprobious name " more inſupportable than death itſelf? O wretched, and moſt " deplorable deſtiny! in a word, my dear father! your daughter! " your blood! this branch of the royal ſtock, who, like an inno- " cent lamb, was recommended to the care of a ravenous wolf, " has been violated by king Roderic! if you forget not what you " owe to your illuſtrious blood, you will revenge the affront of- " fered it, by deſtroying the tyrant, who has ſo baſely ſtained it.

" Remember

" Remember that you are count Julian, and that I am Cava, your " only daughter!"

The reading this letter, was like a mortal ſtab in count Julian's heart, and cauſed him not only to reſolve upon the ruin of that impious raviſher of his daughter's honour, but likewiſe to ſacrifice his country to his vengeance. The better to bring about his deſigns, he, as ſoon as poſſible, diſpatched the buſineſs upon which he had been ſent over into Africa, and with all diligence repaired to court; where, by the ſatisfactory accounts he gave of his negociation, by the vaſt projects he inſinuated to have laid, tending very much to the nation's glory and advantage, and by the violent love the king bore his daughter, he became ſo exceeding powerful, that all the moſt important affairs of ſtate paſſed through his hands, inſomuch that the other favourites began to conceive a great umbrage and jealouſy at his exorbitant growth.

As he was a perſon of conſummate parts and judgment, and had a wonderful talent in diſſembling and concealing his ſentiments, very far from making the leaſt ſhew of his deep reſentment, and the mortal hatred he bore the king, he, on the contrary, expreſſed himſelf extremely ſenſible, and full of acknowledgment for all the favours that monarch had heaped upon him; and by this profound diſſimulation, his credit increaſed more and more, as the thirſt of revenge grew every day more violent in his reſenting heart, all which facilitated his putting in execution the project he had deſigned from the very moment he heard of his daughter's diſgrace.

The king, notwithſtanding he was miſerably plunged in all the exceſſes of a voluptuous, licentious life, yet the ambitious emulation of worldly glory was not wholly extinct in his breaſt; and to ſet him upon attempting the greateſt enterpriſes, there wanted nothing but the inſinuations of an artful, politic miniſter, to awaken and rouze him out of that lethargic negligence and ſupineneſs, in

which

which his irregular, ſenſual courſe of life had involved him, and, as it were, buried him alive.

Count Julian, who had made it his buſineſs ſedulouſly to dive into the very bottom of his ſoul, and was thoroughly acquainted with all his good and bad qualities, knew perfectly well, that ambition had a powerful aſcendency over his heart, and by artful inſinuations repreſented to him, that a prince ſo potent and great, as was his majeſty, ſhould endeavour to crown his pleaſures with laurels; telling him, that he might eaſily make very noble progreſſes againſt the Moors, whilſt they had not the leaſt diffidence or ſuſpicion that he intended any thing to their prejudice, and eſpecially now their forces were otherwiſe employed, and diſperſed in ſeveral parts of Africa. The better to decoy him into the ſnare, which malice had ſpread for him, he communicated to the liſtening monarch the particulars of an imaginary project of his, the execution whereof, this traitor repreſented to be as eaſy, as the plan was pompous and magnificent.

The too credulous Roderic, ſeduced by this flattering diſcourſe, and feeling the ſparks of that generous valour, which had heretofore gained him ſuch mighty reputation, beginning to rekindle in his ſoul, he ſwallowed the ſpecious bait, and agreed with that treacherous counſellor upon the neceſſary meaſures for carrying a war into the very entrails of Africa, of the conqueſt of all which, he thought himſelf ſure; ſo great a confidence had he in the artifices and inſinuations of the revengeful Julian.

In the mean while, the count, who breathed nothing but vengeance, nor ſighed for any thing but the total perdition of him, who had ruined his daughter's honour, held a ſecret correſpondence in Africa with king Witiza's ſons, who, as well as himſelf, were burning with an impatient deſire of revenging themſelves upon the tyrant who had uſurped a throne, which, of right, belonged to them.

In

In Spain, he caballed with a great number of traitors and male-contents, whom he found inclined to join with him in his deteſtable conſpiracy; inſomuch, that ſeeing every thing ready diſpoſed to favour his wicked deſigns, he now employed his thoughts upon nothing, but how to ſnatch his daughter from the arms of the raviſher, that ſhe might not be involved in the approaching confuſion, nor bear a part in the general calamity he had meditated.

To this effect, he informed the king, that his wife, whom he had left at Malaga, was upon her death-bed, and that ſhe had a paſſionate longing to ſee her daughter before ſhe expired. What reluctancy ſoever the amorous monarch had to ſee the object of his moſt tender wiſhes removed from his ſight, he had ſtill the complaiſance to the earneſt repreſentation and requeſt of Julian; ſo that the fair Cava, having agreed with her father upon what meaſures were to be taken, to prevent her falling again into Roderic's power, departed for Malaga, where ſhe did not continue long.

The king, who ſupinely repoſed himſelf, upon the falſe count's ſeeming zeal and ſincerity, was waiting with the utmoſt impatience for his miſtreſs's return, and was not a little ſurpriſed, when, ſoon after, that treacherous favourite diſappeared. This myſterious departure was a terrible thunder-clap to him, and a certain preſage, that ſomething was in agitation, which would prove fatal to the ſtate.

Thus troubled, confuſed, and uncertain which way the fugitive had taken, he ſent meſſengers upon the ſearch after him, in every place; but all their diligence was to no effect: for the wary count had uſed ſuch caution, as well as expedition, that it was ſooner known that he, his wife, and the beautiful Cava, were embarked, and ſteered towards the coaſt of Africa, than it could be diſcovered which way he managed his artful eſcape to the ſea-ſide of Spain.

At the news of this flight, king Roderic was more enraged than ever; he was utterly confounded and aſhamed to have the double mortification of finding himſelf at once deprived of the lovely daughter,

daughter, and tricked by the crafty father. His reſentment and diſquiet was ſo extremely violent, that nothing could poſſibly moderate his concern, except the ſtorm which the very fugitive himſelf was preparing for him, the conſpiracy; which tended to nothing leſs than his own dethronement, and the utter deſtruction of the Spaniſh monarchy.

The revengeful count was no ſooner landed on the African ſhore, than he haſtened away to Mouſa, with whom he had commenced an intimate friendſhip, during the time of his late embaſſy, and who gave him a very gracious and friendly reception. He informed him of the injurious outrage which the execrable Roderic had done to his daughter's honour; and gave him to underſtand, how greatly he thirſted to take vengeance upon the tyrant: telling him, that if he would but aſſiſt him, in deſtroying the perſon who had diſhonoured his family, he would ſolemnly engage himſelf to introduce an army of Moors into the very heart of Spain, and to bring the whole kingdom under the caliph's obedience.

Mouſa being very attentive to the propoſals, heard him with the greateſt pleaſure, and would moſt joyfully have embraced them without heſitation, had he but imagined he might have preſumed to act by his own authority; but not daring to undertake any thing in an affair of ſuch conſequence as this, without expreſs orders from the caliph, he deſired time to write to his ſovereign. Julian, impatient to know what he was to depend upon, took upon himſelf to carry the meſſage, and with the utmoſt diligence departed for Damaſcus, and ſoon arrived at the caliph's court. Being naturally exceeding eloquent, he enlivened and embelliſhed his diſcourſe with the moſt expreſſive colours, to exaggerate the greatneſs of his project, and to make it ſhine in the eyes of Walid, to bring him to a determination favourable to his wiſhes: he repreſented to him, "That he had in Spain a very powerful party de-
"voted to his intereſt, and extremely diſcontented with Roderic's
"irregular adminiſtration;" of whom he gave the moſt infamous

epithets

epithets he could invent, and painted him as the baſeſt, and moſt deteſtable prince that ever breathed on the earth: adding, that the two ſons of king Witiza, whoſe throne this tyrant had uſurped, would infallibly join with him, which would be a conſiderable addition to his intereſt; that the Goths having been for a long time buried in a degenerate libertiniſm, luxury, and licentiouſneſs, were become faint-hearted, effeminate cowards, and wholly incapable of enduring the fatigues of the field: that the country was wholly defenceleſs; the cities, towns, and caſtles all diſmantled, and had neither fortifications, arms, proviſions, nor garriſons: that Roderic, on account of his violences, injuſtice, cruelties, and diſorders, was held in horror and deteſtation by all the nobility: that the people languiſhed for a revolution: upon the firſt motion of which, they might give open proofs of the implacable hatred they had juſtly conceived againſt the inhuman tyrant, by whom they were ſo ſorely oppreſſed. In a word, mingling tears with his artful and lively painting of the wretched conditions of his ſuffering country, which he had been repreſenting: he ſighed for ſuccours of the Muſſelmans, to oppoſe this ſecond Tarquin: extolling the immenſe and inexhauſtible riches of Spain to the ſkies, which whole kingdom he engaged his head to reduce to the caliph's obedience; and for the greater ſecurity, offered to deliver up into his poſſeſſion all the places the Spaniards held and were maſters of in Africa.

Walid, who was inceſſantly aſpiring after great enterprizes, and who had already rendered his name famous by the innumerable victories and conqueſts he had obtained, found ſomething moſt agreeably ſoothing in count Julian's propoſals, and perſuaded himſelf, that this undertaking might meet with a ſucceſs ſufficient to ſatisfy his ambition, and to enhance the glory of his name: with theſe flattering hopes, after he had loaded the wicked count with careſſes and civilities, he ſent him back to Mouſa, with an order to that governour, that he ſhould furniſh him with a ſmall body

of troops, to make trial of his fidelity, but that if afterwards he found him ſincere, and thought he could do it ſecurely, he ſhould aſſiſt him with the united forces of all Africa.

Upon this leave given him by the caliph, Mouſa ſupplied him with between five and ſix hundred ſoldiers, and no more, commanded by Tarif Abdalahi, with all proviſions, and what elſe was neceſſary to make a deſcent upon the coaſt of Andaluſia. Count Julian, Munuza, and Alchaman, were appointed to ſerve as lieutenants under Tarif. As they had not far to ſail, the Moors ſoon croſſed the Straits of Gibraltar, and Tarif landed them at the foot of the mountain Calpe, and, without difficulty, of the town ſo called, which he fortified with all ſpeed. It is thought the ſons of Witiza were very inſtrumental towards the taking that place, by means of a ſecret intelligence they held with the inhabitants; however it happened, as ſoon as Tarif had got poſſeſſion of it, he changed its name, and called it Ghezeira al Thadra, which Arabic words imply the Green Iſland, becauſe that at a diſtance, it ſeems to be of that colour to thoſe who behold it from the ſea; ſince that time, the Spaniards have corrupted the name, and called it Algezira. Here is, to be ſure, a moſt monſtrous and abſurd miſtake! becauſe Gibraltar is not, nor ever was Algezira, nor Algezira, Gibraltar; places ever ſeparate from each other, and divided by the bay of the latter: but more of this hereafter.

CHAP. III.

CONTINUATION OF THE CAUSES THAT BROUGHT THE MOORS INTO SPAIN, AND THE NAME ALGEZIRA.

DON Roderic and others confound Taric with Tarif (1); in fixing the epocha of the battle of Guadalete at the year ſeven hundred and fourteen; when he brings thither one hundred

(1) Vertot's Hiſt. Spain, pref. p. 38.

and

and eighty thouſand Moors; and when he makes Toledo to be taken by the general Mouſa, which are actually falſe: ſince it is demonſtrated by all the grave hiſtorians, that Taric was no other than the ſon of a freed man, who by his long ſervices had attained to military preferments diſtinguiſhable to merit the command of about four or five hundred men, and at their head to be ſent into Spain with the count don Julian, in order to make the firſt attempts upon the Andaluſian coaſts; whereas, Tarif was a perſon of high birth, inveſted with the charge of lieutenant general of Mauritania Tingitana under the general Mouſa, and who had orders to come to a general engagement with the king don Roderic in the year ſeven hundred and eleven, and not in ſeven hundred and fourteen, or ſeven hundred and thirteen, as hiſtorians pretend, who inſtead of one hundred and eighty thouſand men had poſitively no more than twelve thouſand; and that it certainly was himſelf who took the city of Toledo, and not the general Mouſa.

But let us ſee what other authors ſay for they almoſt all differ in their narrative, both as to chronology, names, and circumſtances.

Egica, the thirty-firſt king, died in the year ſeven hundred and one (2): his iſſue was Witiza, who reigned immediately after him. Oppas, archbiſhop of Seville, whoſe name is infamous in ſtory, being one of thoſe villains who betrayed Spain to the Moors: and Fandina, who married the perfidious earl Julian, who brought the Moors into Spain, father of Florinda, whom ſome call Cava, the occaſion of that misfortune, though innocently. To him ſucceeded Witiza, the thirty-ſecond king, ſon of Egica, by his wife Cixilona, daughter of Ervigius, grandſon of Chindaſuinthus by the mother's ſide. His whole reign was nothing but a continual ſeries of impieties, cruelties, and diſorders: he openly entertained many concubines, as if they had been queens, and allowed concubinage

(2) Richer's abridged Hiſt. Spain, p. 7.

to his ſubjects: he ordered Favila, ſon of Chindaſuinthus, to be murdered; plucked out the eyes of Theodofredus, brother of Favila, and having by theſe enormities made himſelf odious to exaggerate his crimes, he cauſed the walls of the greateſt part of the cities in Spain to be diſmantled, to take thereby, as he ſaid, all means of rebellion from his ſubjects; he likewiſe deſtroyed all arms offenſive and defenſive he could find. Authors do not agree on the manner of his death, ſome ſay it was natural, others will have it violent; be that as it will, he reigned ten years: he left two ſons, Evan and Siſebut, who, to avoid falling into the hands of Roderic, fled into Africa, engaged there among the Moors, and came into Spain with them, but their new friends put them to death.

Roderic, the thirty-third and laſt king of the Goths, ſon of Theodofredus, duke of Corduba, and grandſon of Chindaſuinthus, ſucceeded Witiza, and walked in his ſteps; for he plunged himſelf wholly in all ſorts of vice, which cauſed the ruin of Spain; yet before he came to the crown, he was thought a virtuous and wiſe prince, and no ſooner had he obtained it, but he fell into all manner of debaucheries.

Count Julian, before-mentioned, was his favourite, and he gave him the government of all the countries ſituate in the neighbourhood of Gibraltar, and all the territories the Goths had in Africa. This extravagant power with which his prince had inveſted him, gave him the opportunity of betraying his country, which was effected in the following manner:

His daughter Florinda, or Cava, being at court, the king became deſperately in love with her, and not obtaining his deſires by fair means, violated her chaſtity, which put the father into ſo violent a rage, that waving the reſpect he ought to have had for the Chriſtian religion, he invited the Moors to paſs into Spain, to be by that means revenged of the king, by the deſtruction of his country, promiſing the infidels all the aſſiſtance he could.

Mouſa, who commanded in Africa under the caliph Ulit, ſent Tarif Abenzarca with twelve thouſand men, who made himſelf maſter of mount Calpe, and of the city Heraclea, or Tarifa, ſuppoſed to be the ſame; and gave it his own name, defeating afterwards an army, which king Roderic ſent againſt him, ravaged the whole country, and took the city of Seville.

Another author (3) relates, that Cava, when playing with her equals, chanced to uncover her body farther than uſual; the king then looking out of a window, fell deſperately in love with her, and at length enjoyed her by force: the maid, boiling with the rage of hatred and revenge, wrote to her father, in modeſt expreſſions, telling him what had happened, and, in as pathetic a manner as ſhe could, exciting him to revenge: that count Julian with great difficulty obtained leave of king Roderic for his daughter Cava to croſs the ſea; and that they took ſhipping at Malaca (now Malaga) where there is an haven bearing the name of Cava, which tradition reports to have been ſo called from this lady.

That the Moors at firſt with an hundred horſe and four hundred foot waſted and plundered the borders of the continent and the iſlands with great ſucceſs: that Tarif, or Tarac, the ſon of Atodalla, ſirnamed Abenzarca, who had but one eye, went from Barbary to Spain with twelve thouſand men, in merchant veſſels, the better to prevent diſcovery, and firſt ſeized on the hill Calpe, and hence the city Heraclea ſtanding upon it, receiving its new name from Tarif and Gebal, and a neighbouring town that of Tarifa, whereas it was in ancient times called Tarteſſus; and in the margin he ſays: Quam alii Carteiam Mellariam prius dictam contendunt (4).

Turquet writes thus (5): "The time was now come when the "kingdom of the Goths in Spain muſt have an end, being come

(3) Howell's Hiſt. of the World, p. 498, &c. (4) Vaſeus, ubi ſup. (5) Lewis de Mayerne. Turquet. Gen. Hiſt. Spain, B. XVI. p. 579.

"to

" to the height of their iniquities: for in their commonweal, all " things, both holy and profane, were managed with fraud and " violence, and their princes affected confuſion, to ſatisfy their " ambition and infamous luſts: wherefore it pleaſed God to con- " found them in their imaginations, to blind them that would be " blind, to root out the incorrigible, and to take his graces from " them that did obſtinately contemn him."

Roderic, having been an inſtrument to puniſh a tyrant, made no uſe of this correction, nor acknowledged the favour from whence it came, but, preſently after his coming to the crown, followed Witiza's ſteps, yea exceeded him in all his vices. He ſhewed himſelf cruel and inhuman to Siſebut and Ebba, the children of Witiza, whom he purſued with all manner of indignities, and forced them to fly into Africa, deprived of all their goods, where they were entertained by Recila, earl and governour of Tangier, or Tingis: he addreſſed himſelf to the daughter of Julian, earl or governour of Ceuta, called Caba or Cava, (who was bred up at court, as other virgins were, of noble families, according to cuſtom) and raviſhed her, whilſt her father was embaſſadour to Africa, on the affairs of the kingdom. The place where he committed this rape, is called Pancorus, betwixt Victoria and Burgos. This was the occaſion of the Moors invading Spain.

Some authors write, ſays this gentleman, that Caba or Cava was wife, and not daughter, to count Julian: that the earl did wickedly revenge this private injury by the ruin of the whole kingdom: for, returning into Africa, where he had led Cava, cauſing her to embark at Malaga, of whom the port of the ſame town is yet named, he went to Mouſa Abenzair, governour for the emperour of the Arabians, whoſe name was Vilit, and promiſed to make him lord of all Spain, if he would give him men and means to make war there.

Mouſa, having given previous notice to Vilit, to adviſe him not to give too much credit to the earl before he had tried him: where-

fore

fore at that time they gave him only one hundred horſe and four hundred foot, with promiſes of greater forces.

This man, enraged with the diſhonour done to his family, led theſe Moors into Spain, and having joined with ſome of the country whom he had corrupted, he ſpoiled all the coaſt along the ocean, which is Andaluſia and Portugal, and then led them back into Africa, laden with ſpoils as a teſtimony of his actions.

This firſt deſcent of the Moors was in the year ſeven hundred and thirteen; the Arabians having made this trial of count Julian's affections, the governour Mouſa gave him twelve thouſand Moors under the conduct of Tarif Abenzarca, who (according to ſome) had been in the firſt paſſage of the Moors into Spain. Paſſing the Straits, he landed his men at the foot of mount Calpe: by reaſon whereof, this place changed its name, and was in the Arabian tongue called Gebel Tarif, that is to ſay, the mount of Tarif: and the next town taken by that captain, which was either the ancient Carteia, or Mellaria, was called Tarif.

This army being ſecretly favoured by Siſebut and Ebba, the ſons of Witiza, aided and fortified by Recila, governour of Tangier, and other noblemen, Goths, to whom the preſent ſtate of affairs was diſpleaſing, and who were well known to be friends and well affected, and perhaps equally intereſted with count Julian, overran and ſpoiled all Andaluſia, and part of Luſitania, entering into Seville, and many other places, which had been diſmantled by the fooliſh advice of king Witiza. In theſe combuſtions, Roderic, his ſucceſſor, both in his vices and kingdom, was ſo unprovided, that his enemies did what they pleaſed without reſiſtance.

I ſhall conclude with Mariana, and then endeavour to rectify the whole: this author carries too much of the marvelous in many places, as well as in this ſtory: for what man in his ſenſes can credit only this one circumſtance of the Mooriſh invaſion (6): at

(6) Mar. Hiſt. Spain, Book vi. chap. viii. p. 97.

the

the time when king Roderic deflowered the beautiful Cava, he is ſaid to have committed another great error, which was, that he cauſed the breaking open an old caſtle at Toledo, ſaid to be enchanted, ſecured with many locks and bolts: it being a received opinion, that whenever it was opened, the ruin of Spain was at hand. This the king imagined was only a report ſpread abroad, to conceal ſome treaſures hid there, but being within, found none, only a cheſt, and in it a picture, on which were drawn men of ſtrange faces and habits, with a Latin inſcription to this effect: BY THESE PEOPLE SPAIN SHALL SOON BE DESTROYED!

Mariana informs us, that Julian's daughter did not write in an allegorical manner, but in a rage, lamenting her misfortune, and ſtirring her father up to revenge: that the count having received the news, reſolved to haſten the execution of the treaſon which till then had been hatching.

He accordingly arrived at court, and having brought the king to his beck, he gave him to underſtand, that his wife being ſick in Africa, nothing could be ſo great a comfort to her as the ſight of her daughter. The requeſt was in itſelf ſo reaſonable, and urged with ſo great fervency, that the king could not deny it. At Malaga there is a gate called De la Cava, at which there is a tradition, ſhe went out to take ſhipping for Africa.

At this time, the power of the Saracens was arrived to a great height, from the ſmall and deceitful beginning of Mahomet, their falſe prophet; for they had not only ſubdued and conquered a great part of Aſia, but had over-run all Africa, from Egypt along the Mediterranean to the ocean, beyond the Fretum Herculeum. Vilit was ſole ſovereign of all thoſe people, and called himſelf Miramamolin, a title denoting abſolute ſovereignty. Mouſa, a man of great conduct and courage, governed Africa as his lieutenant.

Count Julian, in his way to Africa, had a conference with the heads of the conſpirators, at a mountain near Conſuegra, called Calderino, which, in Arabic, ſignifies a mountain of treaſon; there

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it was agreed to invite the Moors into Spain. Count Julian accordingly went over into Africa, and repaired to Mouſa, complaining of the wrongs king Roderic did his ſubjects, and ſhewed how eaſy it would be to conquer Spain. Mouſa did not diſlike the project, but doubted the count's ſincerity, and therefore reſolved to do nothing without the conſent of his maſter. The reſult was, that a ſmall body ſhould firſt be ſent, to make trial of the force of Spain, and ſee whether the count's actions were agreeable to his words. Mouſa being a cautious man, at firſt ſent but one hundred horſe, and four hundred foot, who landed on the iſlands, and along the coaſts about the Straits' mouth: theſe were joined by the Chriſtians, which encouraged the Moors to ſend twelve thouſand under the command of Tarif Abenzarca, a man of great note, but blind of one eye; and the better to keep their deſign private, no fleet of war was provided, for they paſſed over in merchantmen. Firſt they poſſeſſed themſelves of mount Calpe, and the city Heraclea, afterwards called Gibraltar, from Gebel, in Arabic, ſignifying a mountain, and Tarif the general, from whom alſo Tarifa is ſuppoſed to take its name.

Many more authors I could produce, but it would be both prolix and irkſome, and the reader may eaſily perceive the diſagreements of thoſe already given, which would only continue were I to introduce others. I ſhall now obſerve, that the gentleman approved by Vertot, is the beſt hiſtorian, and moſt to be relied on; and that Tarif firſt landed at Algezira, from which place he made his excurſions into the country, with his one hundred horſe, and four hundred foot, ſent over by Mouſa, in conſequence of the order he received from the caliph Walid, at the interceſſion of count Julian, to revenge the affront king Roderic had done to his illuſtrious family, by deflowering his beautiful donna Cava, who took ſhipping at Malaga for Africa; and the gate ſhe went through, is ſtill called after her, and which I ſaw in one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-three.

After this, Tarif landed at the foot of mount Calpe, upon the iſthmus; and then the hill changed its name from Calpe, to Gebel Tarif, as a compliment to the Mooriſh general Tarif; he had with him twelve thouſand Moors: and, liking the ſituation of Gibraltar, gave orders to erect a ſtrong caſtle, which remains to this day, and the inſcription proves it to have been built in the empire of the caliph Walid, as I ſhall ſhew in the courſe of this work.

Mariana and others would fain perſuade us, that Heraclea ſtood at the foot of Mons Calpe, when Tarif made his deſcent. It is extremely odd, he does not make mention of it, till the year of Chriſt ſeven hundred and eleven; or to his computation ſeven hundred and thirteen, corrected by Mr Vertot, and as Mr. Conduit obſerves, other Spaniſh hiſtorians give good ground to believe there was no town upon that hill, till the Moors invaded Spain: beſides, if ever ſuch a city had been there, what are become of the ruins? it is plain, by the nature of the ſtructures, they were originally Mooriſh, as I ſhall prove: neither have there ever been found any Phœnician, Carthaginian, Greek, or Roman coins: ſarcophagi's, urns, or temples, either great or ſmall, or even ſo much as a Roman arch! in ſhort, there are no remains to convince us, of a town ſtanding on, or at the foot of Mons Calpe, before Tarif's deſcent.

The deſcription of the Moors poſſeſſing themſelves of Calpe, points out to us, that it was a city and fortreſs of great ſtrength: and as it was the firſt city they poſſeſſed, whoſe advantageous ſituation rendered it a ſafe retreat, one would naturally conclude, that inſtead of demoliſhing a place of ſo much importance, as that garriſon has ever been eſteemed, that they would have repaired it, ſo that at this time, we might diſcover ſome things antique: but no ſuch remains are there, the caſtle, buildings, walls, wells, bagnios, reſervoirs, &c. are all Mooriſh from the foundations to the ſummit.

The

The Moors kept poſſeſſion of Gebel Tarif from ſeven hundred and eleven, to January one thouſand four hundred and ninety-two, juſt ſeven hundred and eighty-one years, before they were driven entirely out of that country.

I ſhall now obſerve, that Tarif marched to the fort of Heraclea, four miles from Calpe, at Rocadillo, the ancient city of Carteia: for Mariana ſays, that Hercules only built a fort calling it Heraclea, from whence he, with the Argonauts, made excurſions, robbing the country, and had ſeveral encounters with the natives: therefore this was the Greek Hercules, who lived long after the founder or prince of Carteia: the tower of Cartahena, which I call Heraclea, is a Roman ſtructure, as its ruins ſhew in the arches, and the coins there found, not only of Rome, but Phœnicia alſo.

After Tarif had eſtabliſhed a poſt at the foot of Mons Calpe, he marched and took Heraclea, or Carteia, or Calpe Carteia: for Algezira was not at that period built; nor was there any town or fort in the bay of Gibraltar, but Heraclea and Carteia, or the ruins of Carteia; for it is hard to ſay, not having any data, whether it ſurvived the impetuous ſtorms and follies of the Goths; or, whether it was not the town that Tarif took after landing.

Certain it is, that authors have ſtrangely jumbled many towns together, for one and the ſame: as Calpe, Calpe Carteia, Algezira, Tarifa, Mellaria, Tarteſſus, Heraclea, Gadira, &c. and certain it is, that Algezira was built by the Moors, and ſo was Gibraltar. Gibraltar is a corruption from Gebel Tarif, and Algezira, from Al thee, and Gezira, an iſland, becauſe of the iſland before, and within gun-ſhot of the town; and this was the place, where Tarif landed. After the tower of Cartahena, or the fort of Heraclea, the Caput Carteia, was taken by Tarif, and having gained the memorable battle over Roderic, Tarif built Algezira; but Gibraltar being called immediately from himſelf, we may venture to give the pre-eminence of antiquity to that impregnable

fortreſs, which no general can loſe, but by peſtilence, famine, and the want of ammunition. Julia Traducta on the Straits was changed to Tarifa, as a compliment likewiſe.

However, that I may not omit any ſatisfaction that can be given to my reader, I ſhall therefore relate, from the modern univerſal hiſtory of the Arabs, what happened relative to the Moor Tarif's ſucceſs in Spain, which will retouch and illuſtrate what has been already ſaid, and lead to what will follow in the courſe of theſe ſheets.

In the ninety-third year of the hejra (7), anſwering to the year of our Lord ſeven hundred and twelve (8), Tarik, or Tarif Eben Zarka made a deſcent in Spain with a body of the Moſlem troops, defeated Roderic, the laſt king of the Goths there, reduced the city of Toledo, and over-ran a conſiderable part of that kingdom. Taric was ſent to Spain by Mûſa Ebn Okair, or Okail, who ſeems to have commanded the caliph Al Walid Ebn Abd'almâlec's forces (9) in the weſtern parts of Africa, and to have been the perſon who projected this expedition. Mûſa, being informed of Tarik's ſucceſs, ſoon followed him with a body of auxiliary troops, compoſed of Arabs and Africans; and, after the junction of theſe two Moſlem generals, the Arabs made themſelves maſters of a great number of fortreſſes in Spain; ſubjugating in a manner the whole country, and obliged it to become tributary to the caliph. The Moſlems acquired ſpoils of immenſe value in theſe expeditions, and amongſt other things an exceeding rich table, called by the Arab writers, the table of Solomon, the ſon of David. Thoſe writers pretend, that this table conſiſted entirely of ſilver and gold, and was adorned with three borders of pearls; but Roderic, of

(7) The reader will obſerve, that I have given the Arabian words in the ſame ſpelling, as thoſe authors have been pleaſed to hand down to us: but at the ſame time would recommend the Arabic tranſlation, in Mod. Univ. Hiſt. throughout this book. (8) Mod. Univ. Hiſt. vol. II. b. I. c. ii. p. 179, 180, 181. (9) Ebn ſignifies ſon, i. e. Al Walid, the ſon of Abd'almâlec.

Toledo,

Toledo, repreſents it as conſiſting of one entire ſtone, of a green colour, and an immenſe ſize, having no leſs than three hundred and ſixty-five feet. He alſo relates, that it was found in a certain village, or town, denominated from it, the city of the table, near the mountain called in his days, Jibel Solimân, Mount Solomon, or the mountain of Solomon. Roderic is, however, inconſiſtent with himſelf, when he aſſerts, that Mûſa had firſt the poſſeſſion of this famous table, and yet, almoſt in the ſame breath, is pleaſed immediately after to affirm, that Tarik made a preſent of it, with many other valuable effects, to Mûſa. It will, therefore, be more ſafe to adhere, in this point, to the teſtimony of the Arab hiſtorians; who relate, that Tarik either brought it, or took care to have it conveyed, to Al Walid himſelf. After Mûſa and Tarik had committed dreadful devaſtations in Spain, they were recalled from thence by the caliph. However, Mûſa ſent his ſon Abd'alaziz into that country, who fixed his reſidence at Seville, and afterwards married Egebo, or Egebon, king Roderic's widow; but being perſuaded by his wife to wear the diadem after the Gothic manner, he was aſſaſſinated by the Arabs, who from thence concluded, that he had become a convert to Chriſtianity, whilſt he was performing his devotions. Abd'alaziz, after a reign of three years was ſucceeded by Ayub Ebn Halib, by whoſe advice his predeceſſor had been murdered, and who was looked upon by the Arabs as the moſt prudent Moſlem in Spain. Ayub is ſaid to have built a city, called Calatayub, and to have transferred the royal ſeat from Seville to Corduba. Some authors relate, that the two ſons of Vitiza, Roderic's predeceſſor, and count Julian, whoſe daughter Roderic had raviſhed, applied this year to Mûſa for a body of troops, which they offered to conduct into Spain, and put that kingdom into the hands of the caliph. But Al Walid, ſay they, ſuſpecting treachery in this affair, ordered Mûſa to ſend over a ſmall detachment of his forces, and to form a notion of that count's ſincerity from the reception thoſe Arabs ſhould meet

with in Spain. Upon which, continue they, he aſſigned Julian only a body of four hundred foot, and one hundred horſe, under the command, it ſeems, of Tarik, or, as he is called by the Spaniſh hiſtorians, Tarif, who paſſed the Straits of Hercules, now known by the name of the Straits of Gibraltar; he was joined by a good number of Julian's friends, and ravaged the maritime coaſt of Bætica and Luſitania. Soon after which, the Arabs returned loaded with ſpoil and plunder to Africa. The Moſlems alſo this year extended their conqueſts into other parts; Maſalamas, Moſlema, or Moſlem, one of their generals, reducing the city of Amaſia, and ſeizing upon a conſiderable part of Pontus and Armenia (1).

The next year, being the ninety-fourth of the hejra, and of Chriſt ſeven hundred and thirteen, Tarik, or Tarif, aſſembled a body of twelve thouſand men, which he put privately on board ſome merchantmen, collected for that purpoſe by count Julian, and tranſported them to the rock or mountain Calpe, denominated afterwards from this general Jibel Tarif, that is, the rock or mountain of Tarif; from whence the word Gibraltar, the name of a city erected at the foot of this rock ſince that event, has been formed. Tarif, ſoon after his arrival in Spain, made himſelf maſter of an ancient city, that ſtood at no great diſtance, in a weſtern direction, from the ſpot on which Gibraltar was afterwards built, and from him received the name of Tarifa, or Tariffa, by which it is alſo at preſent known. This town was undoubtedly the Julia Traducta of the old geographers, and neither the Mellaria nor the Carteia of the Ancients, as ſome of the Spaniſh hiſtorians pretend. After the reduction of this place, the Moſlem general marched to Seville, which he eaſily poſſeſſed, as it was not in a ſtate of defence. Many other towns of conſiderable note likewiſe ſurrendered to

(1) Al Makin. ubi ſup. p. 72. Greg. Abul. Faraj, ubi ſup. Roderic Toletan. Hiſt. Arab. c. ix. p. 8, 9. Iſidor. Pacens. Theophan. ubi ſup. p. 320.

him,

him, which enabled him to plunder Luſitania. Roderic, receiving advice of theſe depredations, ſent his couſin-german Eneco, Enecon, or Inach, called by ſome writers Sanctius, with a raw, undiſciplined rabble of an army, drawn together in haſte, and left a great number of their men dead upon the field of battle. This ſo animated Tarif, that he reſolved not to lay down his victorious arms till he had made an abſolute conqueſt of Spain. Some of the Chriſtian writers pretend, that Al Walid died this year; but this, as running counter to the concurrent teſtimony of all the beſt Arab hiſtorians, muſt by no means be admitted. Al Hejâj Ebn Yuſef Al Thakîfi, died in the month of Ramadân, and the ninety-fifth year of the hejra, anſwering to the year of our Lord ſeven hundred and fourteen; and Al Walid in the ninety-ſixth of the hejra.

The Saracens and Arabs called Algier, Algezair (2), which, in Arabic, ſignifies an iſland, becauſe it is ſituated near a ſmall iſland: and this name has ever ſince continued; but yet it hath been ſeveral ways corrupted, ſome calling it Algiers, and others Argier, or Arget. Mr Shaw (3) ſays, "That Algiers, Alje-zeire, "or Alje-zeirah (for ſo, ſays this gentleman, we ſhould pronounce "it) ſignifieth in the Algerine language, the iſland; ſo called for "being in the neighbourhood (not as Leo acquaints us, of the Ba-"learic iſland, but) of the eaſtern mound of the harbour, which, "till after the time of the Turkiſh conqueſts, was ſevered from the "continent. In their public letters and records, they ſtile it (Al-"je-zeire Megerbie) the iſland in the weſt, to diſtinguiſh it from "a city of the ſame name near the Dardanelles (4)."

(2) Ogilby's Hiſt. of Africa, p. 220. (3) Vid. his Travels or Obſervations. (4) I ſhall renew this affair, and of the Mooriſh invaſion, in the courſe of this work.

CHAP.

CHAP. IV.

OF BARBARY, ITS ORIGIN; TINGIS, CEUTA, AND THE STRAITS; AND THE NAME MAURITANIA; OF THE VARIOUS NATIONS ON THAT SIDE THE FRETUM HERCULEUM, ETC.

THE Orientals call Africa, Magrib, which is the weſt; i. e. that part of Africa called Barbary, and the Numidian and Libyan deſerts, down to the weſtern ocean, all which they term Magrib, and ſometimes Algarb, on account of its ſituation in reſpect of them: but when they would diſtinguiſh, they ſay Magrib the hithermoſt, the middle, the furthermoſt, if they mean Barbary; if the deſert, they ſay, Sahara Magrib.

This part of Barbary (1) is ſuppoſed to be peopled by the dregs and refuſe of the primitive Egyptians: and that when the Tingitana (2) was abſtracted from the reſt of Africa, and annexed to Spain, then Mauritania Cæſarienſis began between Tangier and Ceuta, including that city: that the eaſtern (3) bounds of Tingitana is fixed at the ſeven mountains, from whence Septa (or Sibta, as the Africans call it, and we Ceuta; i. e. Seven, from the Spaniards) deriving its appellation, and which, in this laſt diviſion, became included in the Cæſarienſis: ſome call this city Trajectum, and others Julia Trajecta.

As Ceuta and Tangiers, or rather cape Spartel, are the bounds of the Straits on the Barbary ſide; ſo is Gibraltar and Trafalgar on the Spaniſh coaſt: I ſhall therefore endeavour to keep within theſe bounds, leſt the rapid current of the Straits hurries me beyond the limits which I have preſcribed myſelf.

The inhabitants of this country can claim great antiquity; for Procopius aſſures us, that the Canaanites, expelled their country by Joſhua about three thouſand two hundred years ago, actually

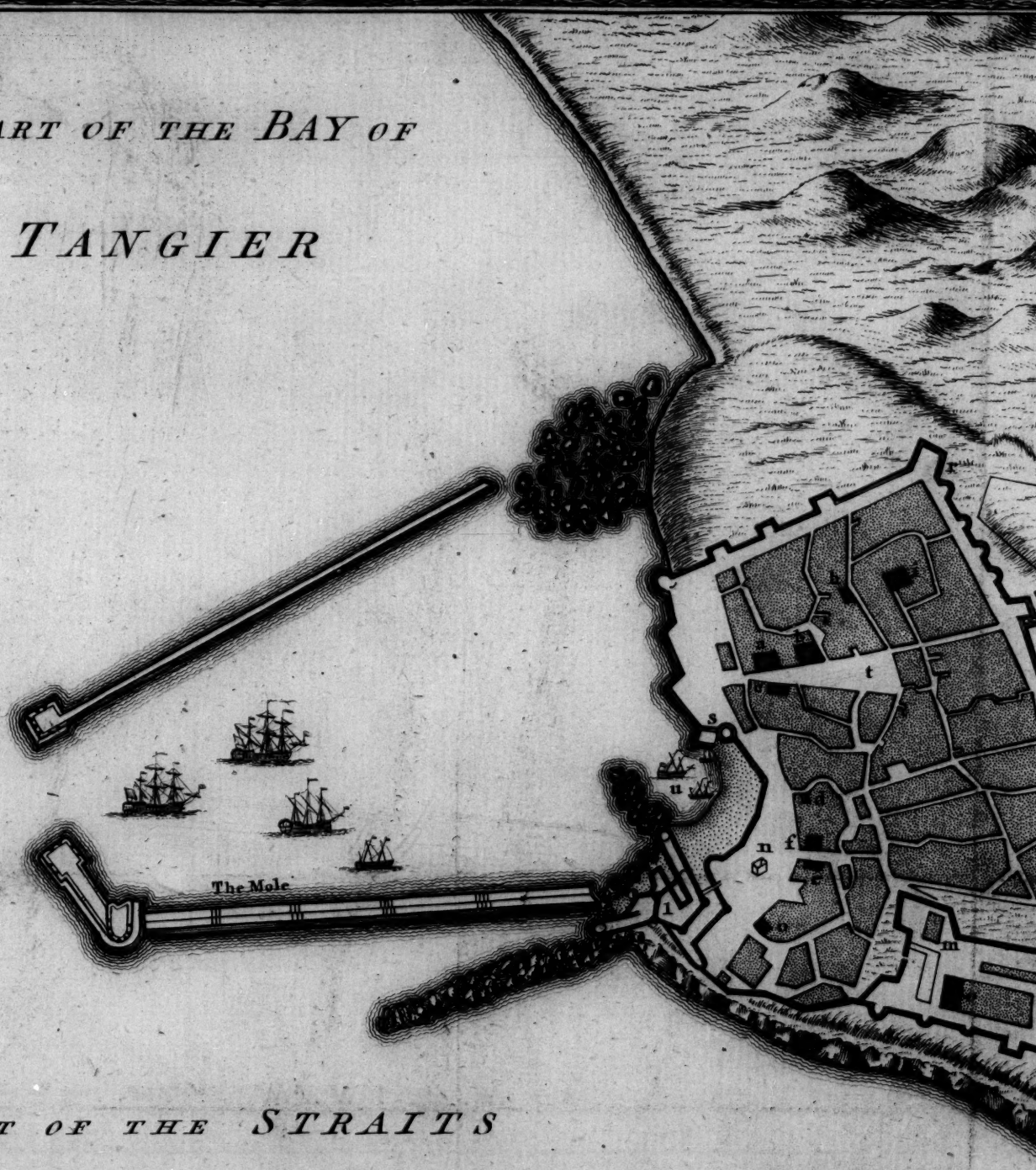
(1) Vid. J. Morgan's Hiſt. of Algiers, p. 3. (2) Idem, p. 47. (3) Idem, p. 57.

found

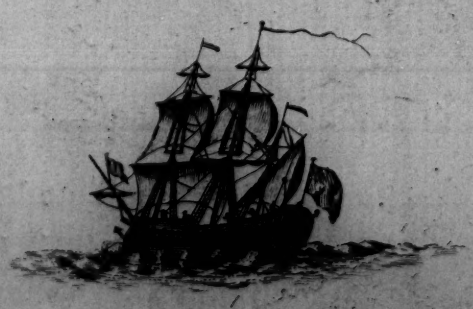


PART OF THE BAY OF

TANGIER



PART OF THE STRAITS



Scale of Yar

100 300 500 700 1100

The CITY, FORTIFICATIONS and MOLE of TANGIER.

a. *The Cathedral*	l. *York Caſtle*
b. *Miſericordia*	m. *Governors Houſe*
c. *St. Dominic*	n. *The Parade*
d. *Spirito Santo*	o. *Store Houſes*
e. *Carmine*	p. *Peterborough Tower*
f. *Engliſh Church Omitted in the Original*	q. *Catherine Port*
g. *St. Rocbus Omitted*	r. *Iriſh Battery*
h. *St. John's*	s. *Sandwich Port*
i. *Hoſpital*	t. *The Market Place*
k. *The Upper Caſtle*	u. *The Old Haven*
	w. *Outworks*



Copy'd by Wm. Booth. Decr. 24, 1762. Engrav'd by Thos. Kitchin, 1771.

found this country peopled: and, that in the Vandal war in Africa, where Procopius accompanied Beliſarius, in quality of ſecretary, were then to be ſeen near a great fountain at Tangier, two columns of white ſtone, whereon, in the Phœnician tongue, was an inſcription to this effect, WE FLY FROM THE ROBBER JOSHUA, THE SON OF NUN.

Almoſt innumerable are the writers, ancient and modern, who mention this: Ib'n Al Rakik ſays the ſame thing, but places the ſtones at Carthage, in imitation of thoſe at Tyre.

Tangier (4) was a great mart of the Phœnicians, who had a colony in it (5): the learned Sammes ſays, it was called for excellency the Mart, from the Phœnician word tigger, a mart, and from tagger, a trade, and now retains its ancient termination in Tangier. This town, called Old Tingis, hath been the moſt famous among the Ancients (6), built, as they ſay, by Antæus, and ſo renowned, that the neighbouring Mauritania took from it the name of Mauritania Tingitana, and the Straits of Fretum Tingitanum; yet, were its biſhop and government united long ſince to Ceuta, where they had their reſidence, till the diſunion of the eſtates of Portugal and Caſtile, Ceuta remaining in the hands of the Spaniards, Tangier and Cazar Ezzaghir returning to the Portugueſe. This Ceuta is ſtill garriſoned from Spain, and the place very ſtrong; they daily mount five hundred men, as general Crawford aſſured me, who viſited Ceuta, during my reſidence in Gibraltar, and in one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-four: it lies in the latitude 35° 50′ north, and about 6° weſt, from London, ſay the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory; but Mr. Salmon lays it down in 35° 40′ north, and 7° weſt.

Mauritania Tingitana, or Mauruſa of the Ancients, derived their names from the Mauri (7), an ancient people inhabiting it,

(4) Sam. Brit. p. 22. (5) Mela. (6) Blome's Deſcrip. of Barbary, p. 346. (7) Univ. Hiſt. Africa.

frequently mentioned by old hiſtorians and geographers: but authors are not agreed among themſelves about the origin of this word, and the city Tingis, near Tangiers, which city was of great antiquity; and according to Mela, Solinus, and Pliny, Antæus, cotemporary with Hercules, and conquered by him, laid the firſt foundation of it: the ancient people inhabiting this part of the globe, called themſelves Mauri; and the moſt natural opinion of the meaning of that word, is that of Bochart, who ſtiles it Maur, i. e. one from the weſt, or a weſtern perſon, ſince Mauritania was weſt of Carthage and Phœnicia, or the boundary of our voyages, as the Carthaginians and Phœnicians, for ſeveral ages, might have ſaid of the Tingitanans: and that the Mauritanians were divided into many cantons, according to Ptolemy, thoſe of Metagonitæ were near the Straits of Hercules, and the Succoſſii, or Cocoſſii, took up the coaſt of the Iberian ſea.

This kingdom was reduced to a Roman province in Claudius's reign, and had this name given it to diſtinguiſh it from Mauritania Cæſarienſis, as Dio informs us: and from Pliny and ſome inſcriptions in Gruter, it appears to have been ſimply called Tingitana, from its principal city Tingi, to diſtinguiſh it, as is above related.

Although Auguſtus had done ſomething towards a grant of ſome cities in the Tingitana to Spain, yet it was the emperour Otho who firſt made to the province of Bætica in Spain, a formal grant of certain cities in the Tingitana, ſome of which remained to the Spaniſh crown for many ages, even till after the conqueſt of Spain by the Arabs and Moors, in the reign of Roderic, the laſt Gothic king.

The Romans were never in actual poſſeſſion of ſo many parts of Africa, as they were at the time of the Vandal invaſion (8); notwithſtanding which, and their ſtrong and numerous garriſons,

(8) Morgan's Hiſt. Algiers, p. 73.

they

they were not able to prevent the almoſt daily incurſions and devaſtations of the other Africans; probably thoſe to the ſouth, and the generality of the mountaineers, who ſeem to have borne a no leſs irreconcileable hatred and inveteracy to the name of Chriſtianity, than do their preſent poſterity.

Their natural averſion to reſtriction of manners, their roving, unſettled diſpoſition, their impatience of a rigid, haughty, oppreſſive, and tyrannical government, ſuch as certainly that of the imperious Romans, whoſe licentiouſneſs and depravation of morals viſibly increaſed as their empire declined; all theſe, together with the wrong ſteps taken by Bonifacius, (then chief governour of the imperial forces in the African provinces) facilitated the ravages and exorbitances of this inhuman northern nation, which proved in a manner the ruin of this very flouriſhing country, the dire effects whereof it may be ſaid to feel to this very day, ſince many fine cities, then deſtroyed, have ever ſince been in ruins.

In the beginning of the fifth century, the weſtern empire was over-run by the Goths, &c. who, among the innumerable diſorders and barbarities, by thoſe ſcourges of mankind committed and perpetrated, infected all places where they came with their peſtilential hereſies; Spain fell to the ſhare of the Vandals, Sueves, and Viſi-Goths: theſe laſt continued ſovereigns of the whole realm, till Roderic, their laſt king, was deprived of both crown and life by the Arabs and Moors of Barbary.

The Vandals poſſeſſed themſelves of the province of Bætica, from them called Vandaluſia, and ſince corrupted into Andaluſia. Genſeric was king of theſe Vandals in Spain, and Bonifacius was the comes, or governour of Africa, which was in four hundred and twenty-eight, in the reign of Valentinian the third, who commiſſioned troops to go againſt the ſaid Bonifacius as a traitor; but he called over from Spain to his aſſiſtance, the Vandal king Genſeric, who in May having croſſed the Fretum Tingitanum, landed

in Mauritania, at the head of eighty thouſand fighting men. It was not long before Boniface had reaſon to repent his having ſo inconſiderately introduced ſuch inſolent gueſts, who ſought nothing but their own advantages; and finding the majority of the Africans, more particularly ſuch as moſt deteſted the Roman name, partly on account of their being Chriſtians, but ſtill more for their imperiouſneſs, licentious avarice, and tyranny, ready to ſide with any that ſhould offer, in order to exterminate the hated imperialiſts; he made his peace with the emperour, and, with what ſtrength he could raiſe, came to a battle with the Vandals, and their auxiliary Africans, wherein he was defeated, and forced to quit Africa. The Vandal princes in Africa were ſix in number, moſt of them remarkably infamous for their impiety, tyranny, and cruel, ſanguinary diſpoſition; in ſhort, theſe Vandals, (who either landed at Ceuta, or Tangier) brought upon the Roman provinces horrible diſorders, pollutions, ſlaughters, and maſſacres, and every thing that was bad: however, the laſt and ſixth African Vandal king was Gilimer, againſt whom, in five hundred and thirty-three, the emperour Juſtinian ſent Beliſarius, who arrived on the coaſt of Africa, with a powerful army, and a fleet of five hundred ſail. Gilimer fought his bold invader: when, coming to a battle, he firſt had the advantage, but knew not how to keep it, Beliſarius giving him a defeat.

Beliſarius having put an end to this Vandal war, part of the imperial army marched weſtward to Cæſaræa, and thence as far as Ceuta, all which coaſt was eaſily cleared of the reſidue of thoſe Arians.

This laſt war, from the landing of the imperialiſts, to the total reduction and final expulſion of the Vandals, laſted not ſix months complete.

I am now come to the reduction of Barbary by the Saracens, which was totally reduced (excepting ſome few ſtrong-holds in poſſeſſion

poſſeſſion of the Spaniſh Goths) from the firſt years of the fortunate reign of Walid Aben Abdalmalec, the ſixth khalifa of the Omniade race, and Mahomet's tenth ſucceſſour.

This is the Ulit mentioned in the foregoing ſheets, he ſucceeded his father Abdalmalec Aben Marivan, in the year of the hejira eighty-ſix, and moſt triumphantly ſwayed the Saracen ſcepter till A. H. ninety-ſix, almoſt ten years, and died in the year of Chriſt ſeven hundred and fifteen, as ſome authors ſay. This prince's conqueſts were great; for he not only conquered the weſt, but likewiſe the eaſt, laying a good part of India under contribution, as far as the Ganges; and indeed all Chriſtendom had great reaſon to remember the ſucceſs of this Saracen prince.

In the year ſeven hundred and twenty-two was the fatal year, which put a period to the very name of Chriſtianity throughout Barbary, and all its neighbourhood: the Saracens had not attempted its total extirpation in Africa, till they had got firm footing in Spain: but having reduced the far greater part of that opulent country, and enriched themſelves with the ſpoils of the vanquiſhed Goths, their tyranny and pride increaſed with their wealth and power.

The African Chriſtians, of what ſect ſoever, who would not immediately become Mahometans, were either killed or baniſhed.

Although the Gothic kings of Spain had poſſeſſed ſeveral parts of the Tingitanan coaſts, under the direction of the comes, or governour, the laſt of which being don Julian: yet the ſovereignty of thoſe Spaniſh dominions in Africa, which was to have been the reward of the too ſucceſsful treaſon, ſoon became incorporated in the reſt of the Muſſelman conqueſts: which memorable exploits were all performed during the fortunate adminiſtration of the famous Mouſa Aben Naſſir, whom Walid the khalifa's uncle Abdalaziz, (or rather Ab'd-al-aziz) viceroy of Egypt, ſent governour of Cairouan, one hundred and twenty miles from Carthage, and conſequently of all the Saracen conqueſts in Barbary.

In

In ſeven hundred and eleven, and of the hejira ninety-two, his arms and other methods were ſo ſucceſsful, that he could ſend over to Europe one of his captains to conquer Spain; his name, ſays Mr. Morgan, was Tharek Aben Zeyad, who firſt landed at Algezira, at the head of five hundred men: Tharek the ſame as Taric.

Mouſa underſtanding that his men had got firm footing on the Spaniſh ſhore, ſupplied them with twelve thouſand Moors. This brave and fortunate Moor has rendered his name immortal to all poſterity; he was no other than Mûſa's ſlave. However, the town of Algezira, built afterwards of the materials of Carteia, which ſome call Old Gibraltar, oppoſite to Gibraltar, in the bay of that name, (which the Spaniards, after their corrupt and abuſive manner, pronounce Khibraltar) is by the Arabs called Al Jezeirat Tharek, or the iſland of Tharek, as ſome pronounce it.

Mr. Morgan, following the beſt Spaniſh and Arabian authors, mentions no town at the foot of Calpe: and the town, now called Algezira, taking its name from Tharek's little iſland, on which he firſt landed, now a Spaniſh garriſon, and within cannon-ſhot of the town: points, that there was no town there when Tharek made the deſcent; and I may affirm, there were no towns in Gibraltar bay before the Moors invaded the country, except at Rocadillo, the Carteia of the Ancients, and the fort Heraclea, overlooking Carteia.

The twelve thouſand Moors marched and took Medina Sidonia, that ancient fortreſs, and many other towns; their arms ſtriking terrour wherever they went. There is no certainty, ſays Mariana, what became of count Julian, but that it was a received opinion, without the teſtimony of any author to ſupport it, that his wife was ſtoned to death, a ſon of his caſt head-long from a tower at Ceuta, and that he himſelf was condemned to perpetual impriſonment by the Moors, whom he ſo much laboured to ſerve.

In

In a caſtle called Loharri, near the city Hueſca, is ſhewn a ſtone tomb, without the church of the caſtle, where it is reported he was buried: the archbiſhop D. Roderic, and D. Lucas de Tuy affirm, that both he and the ſons of king Witiza were deprived of all they poſſeſſed, and he put to death.

It is alſo ſaid (9), that at Algiers they have a tradition, that the much injured and beautiful Cava was interred in a tomb in a burial-place of that city.

However, the firſt ſucceſſes of the infidels encouraged them to land in Spain in crowds (1): on the other ſide, king Roderic having aſſembled an army of one hundred thouſand combatants, but new raiſed, raw, and ill-armed, marched at their head into Andaluſia, to a place called Xeres, with deſign to give them battle. Seven days paſſed in ſkirmiſhes, but on the eighth the armies joined, the combat was long and doubtful, and the Chriſtians ſeemed to have the advantage, when the archbiſhop Oppas went over to the infidels with a body of troops, and attacked the Chriſtians in flank, who being weakened by ſuch men leaving them, and wearied with long fighting, could no longer diſpute the field, but fled.

King Roderic being in a rich chariot, expoſed to the view of his army, mounted his war-horſe, and flung himſelf upon his enemies with great intrepidity and valour, but it was too late, and ſeeing himſelf abandoned by his own people, was forced to fly like the reſt. What became of him is not certain, but it was ſuppoſed he was drowned, paſſing the river Guadalete, where his horſe and habiliments were found.

The Moors, after this victory, divided their forces, and extended themſelves to that degree, that in eight months they were maſters of all Spain; which could not be recovered in eight hundred years; and what is very extraordinary, it was loſt by one ſingle battle, which coſt three thouſand ſeven hundred to regain!

(9) Vid. Morgan's Hiſt. Algiers. (1) Richer's Abridg. Hiſt. Spain, p. 7.

Thus

Thus ended the kingdom of the Goths, which at that time extended from Tangier, in the kingdom of Fez in Africa, to the river Rhone in France, and from the ocean to the Mediterranean.

Turquet ſays, the battle was fought between Medina Sidonia and Xeres (pronounced Gutteral Heres, from whence comes cherry wine) upon a Sunday in September: the horſe on which Roderic rode was called Orelia; he was dreſſed in a royal mantle, and a crown on his head, with other rich ornaments.

The revolt in Roderic's army, was the cauſe of almoſt all his army being cut to pieces, and all Spain was therefore loſt in a few days, except the Aſturias, Biſcay, and ſome part of the Pyrenees, whither the remainder of the nobility and people fled. King Roderic was never ſeen more; his horſe and ſpoils were only found in a moraſs: yet in the town of Viſeo, in Portugal, there was an inſcription in Latin, importing, THAT RODERIC, THE LAST KING OF THE GOTHS, WAS THERE INTERRED.

After the defeat of Roderic, there was no order nor government among the Goths, for every man followed what party did beſt pleaſe him: ſome retired into the mountains of Aſturia, Biſcay, and into Navarre; others went into Gaul; many paſſed into Italy, Germany, England, &c. begging aid from thoſe princes, (but to no effect) to reſtore the ruined ſtate of Spain.

As Algezira was the firſt ſpot of ground on which the Moors trod, and the ſmall iſland before it; I ſhall firſt treat of that place.

Aljezirat was built by the Moors about their ſecond year of coming into Spain, on the weſt ſide of the bay of Gibraltar, and ſtrongly fortified, (as its ruins ſtill ſhew;) for the Mooriſh town-wall is of prodigious ſolidity, which, when it was in a ſtate of defence, held a remarkable ſiege: it is now reſpectable in its ruins, and in its caſtle, as it is called; but in fact, Algezira was divided into two towns, the ſouthern part is called the Caſtle, which father Labat, that great traveller, looks upon to have been built above

one thouſand years ago; which is very true, and brings us to about the Mooriſh deſcent. Indeed Labat ſays, the ruins of the town are of an earlier date: perhaps led to that way of thinking by a concluſion, that Carteia once occupied that ſpot. I have thoroughly examined that wall, and, by the appearance, it looks of a more modern date than the caſtle. The ruins are a pebble Tapia Mooriſh compoſition: over which, time and the laws of petrefaction have ſo prevailed, as to make of a ruin, a huge rock. However, the moſt ancient town was deſtroyed, which has induced people, ignorantly, to call Algezira Old Gibraltar.

In one thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, pope Nicholas the third compelled don Alphonſo, king of Caſtile, to renew the war with the Moors: and ſent don Alonzo word, that for the ſupport of his wars againſt the infidels, his predeceſſor had permitted him to levy a tax upon the clergy, for which reaſon he expected that he ſhould immediately renew the war againſt the infidels, or diſcontinue the tax (2). Upon this, he was conſtrained to break the truce he had made, and to ſend an army commanded by his ſons don Pedro and don Alonzo, to beſiege Algeriza (3), and he fitted out a fleet with inſtructions to block up that place by ſea (4). The quarrel in the royal family was by this time compoſed, the queen conſented to return to her huſband, the princeſs Blanche was allowed to go into France, and the two infants were kept by the king of Arragon (5). This, one would have imagined, muſt have been attended with favourable circumſtances, but it happened otherwiſe. The queen thought it beneath her to return into Caſtile, without diſcharging the debts ſhe owed in Arragon; the king's finances were ſo low, and the demands of the public upon him ſo preſſing, that he could not ſpare her that ſum;

(2) Rod. Santii Hiſt. Hiſpan. Part IV. Chronicæ General de Eſpana. Mod. Univ. Hiſt. Vol. XX. B. XIX. c. i. p. 224. (3) The ſame as Algezira. (4) Chronica del Rey don Alonſo el Sabio, &c. (5) Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Chronica del Rey D. Alonſo el Sabio.

but the infant don Sancho went to Seville, ſeized upon a Jew, who was treaſurer at war to the army commanded by his brethren, and taking the ſum requiſite from him, ſent it to his mother. This proved the ruin both of the army and the fleet. The former was exceedingly weakened by famine, the latter beaten by the Moors, being but very indifferently ſupplied; ſo that Aben Joſeph, king of Morocco, coming over, forced the young princes, don Pedro, and don Alonſo, to raiſe the ſiege with great loſs; and obſerving afterwards that their camp was in a much better ſituation than that of the town, he cauſed the place, which bears now the name of Algezira, to be erected there, and directed the old one to be demoliſhed (6); and which has been, by oral tradition, handed down to us, calling Algazires, Old Gibraltar.

In one thouſand three hundred and ſixteen, Iſhmael, king of Granada, found himſelf ſo much preſſed by the Chriſtians, that he demanded ſuccours of the king of Fez, and, to facilitate the receiving them, put Algezira and ſeveral other places into his hands, which gave the Chriſtians much concern (7). Algazires, therefore, belonged to the African king.

I read (8) of a vaſt deep cavern, that was locked by the governour of the caſtle; to which you deſcended one hundred ſteps, before you approach the entrance: that the cave was very long, and the declivity ſuch, as to make the deſcent troubleſome: which cave led to a labyrinth, through a paſſage of twenty feet broad, and thirty feet high: the labyrinth abounds with cryſtallizations: from hence you go into a cave, which is a vaſt deal larger, and filled with an immenſe number of various kinds of figures, which reflect the light, that comes from the torches, in a moſt ſurpriſing manner: and though echoes are common in ſuch places, it is very rare to meet with them ſo ſtrong as here (9); for upon the

(6) Chronica General de Eſpana. Chronica del Rey don Alonzo el Sabio, &c. (7) Chronica General de Eſpana. Rainald. (8) Udal ap Rhys's account of Spain, &c. (9) Idem.

diſcharge

diſcharge of a piſtol, it returns a great many terrible vollies, and continues a long time. When I viſited Algezira, they informed me that the entrance was walled with maſonry, and the way to it filled up with rubbiſh. Spain is famous for caves, and ſo is the land of Africa oppoſite, as I ſhall ſhew when I treat of Gibraltar.

In the latter end of the year one thouſand three hundred and forty-two (1), the great king Alonzo the eleventh went to Tarifa, near which his fleet was, in order to take a view of Algezires by ſea, and finding it a beautiful and ſpacious city, the captives alſo affirming it was ill provided with corn, he reſolved to lay ſiege to it. King Alonzo's forces were but ſmall, and he had no ſtore of proviſions: nevertheleſs he called together all the garriſons of the neighbouring places, and ſummoned many of the nobility to attend him.

The councils of Andaluſia furniſhed more than their uſual quota towards the war, and the king went away to Seville to provide magazines: two thouſand horſe, and five thouſand foot, being gathered, he ſat down before Algezira, on the third of Auguſt. The gallies of Caſtile and Arragon were to guard the ſea: in the town were eight hundred horſe, and twelve thouſand archers, a force great enough to have given battle in open field. They made frequent ſallies, and ſkirmiſhed with various ſucceſs; yet the tower of Cartahena, between Gibraltar and Algezira, at Carteia, (originally Fort Hercules) was taken: and by the ruins of this fort, there appears no Mooriſh architecture; for the arches are Roman, and were kept in good repair, whereas all the walls of Algezira and Gibraltar are Mooriſh, the addition of Spain and England excepted.

One day, during this ſiege, king Alonzo was in great danger of being killed by a captive, who ſtruck at him with a dagger, he

(1) Mar. Hiſt. Spain.

ſnatched it out of a ſoldier's hand, but ſuch as were near, interpoſed.

It was believed the ſiege would laſt long, therefore trenches were caſt up. Mean while, to the king's great diſſatisfaction, in September, the fleet of Arragon went away, on pretence of the war with Majorca: yet ſoon after, upon the king of Caſtile's preſſing inſtances, ten gallies were ſent him, under the Arragonian vice admiral Matthew Mercero, and again ten more under James Eſcrivia.

In October fell ſuch great rains, that every thing in the camp was ſpoiled; and the army underwent many hardſhips, eſpecially want of money, and the kingdom being exhauſted, the king was obliged to borrow of pope Clement the ſixth, and the kings of France and Portugal. The king of France lent fifty thouſand ducats: the pope gave a third part of eccleſiaſtical revenues. The beſieged promiſed great rewards to any, that would undertake to murder the king, and a Moor, blind of one eye, was taken, and confeſſed that he and ſeveral others were out upon that deſign: ſoon after, two others being put to the rack, confeſſed the ſame.

It was now the beginning of one thouſand three hundred and forty-three, and nothing conſiderable was done at Algezira, only ſome works were carried on by Inigo Lopez de Horoſco; wooden towers were applied to the walls, and other engines played, but all was deſtroyed with ſtones caſt by the defendants. The place was unfit for advancing works, or for the men to aſcend: and, as I have already ſaid, it was divided into the old and new town, which ſome call a caſtle: it was at this time the ſeat of the African empire in Spain, very ſtong, and of the utmoſt conſequence either to the Chriſtians or the Moors.

No proviſion could be conveyed into the town, except a few boats that ſtole in by night, which was a ſmall relief, where hunger began to pinch. It was now doubtful, whether it was not better to raiſe the ſiege, than continue it, for the money ſent by

the pope and the king of France was ſpent, and the king of Portugal had contributed nothing: ſome overtures were made, but took no effect; therefore the Mooriſh king of Granada advanced with his army, as far as the river Guadiaro, five leagues from Algezira. In Ceuta a great fleet was ready with the power of Africa, to paſs over into Spain: theſe were freſh, and the Chriſtians haraſſed; yet the king's reſolution and good fortune overcame all difficulties. Conſiderable ſuccours came to Alonzo from England, France, and Navarre: from England the earls of Derby and Saliſbury, from France the earl of Faux, with his brother, and ſome others.

King Philip of Navarre having ſent before great ſtore of proviſions by ſea, and ordered his army to follow, haſted away himſelf, to get time enough for the battle, which was expected to be fought. D. John de Lara, and D. John Manuel, came before; and freſh forces came daily from all parts. This increaſe of the Chriſtian army terrified the Moors, and they propoſed a peace. Notwithſtanding the treaty, the town was battered, and the beſieged did great harm among the Chriſtians with iron bullets they ſhot. And this is the firſt time any mention is made of gunpowder and ball in Europe. The Moors had the knowledge of cannon from the Aſiatics; the Engliſh at the embaſſy and ſiege, attained to the art, and uſed them with ſucceſs afterwards at Creſſy, and at the blockade at Calais: and afterwards at Berwick in England.

At Algezira, when autumn came on, the foreign ſoldiers went away, and the Engliſh pretended they were called home by the king; the earl of Faux ſaid his men complained of their pay. But ſickneſs was the chief motive of their departure; and the earl of Faux died at Seville; king Philip of Navarre at Xeres, both in the month of September, and their bodies were carried into their own countries.

The

The departure of thoſe princes encouraged the Moors to hazard a battle. Sixty gallies of theirs, which in October had anchored at Eſtapona, paſſed thence to Gibraltar. The river Palmones, in the bay of Gibraltar, parted the two armies; both parties ſeveral times met in that river; at laſt they came to a battle, in which the Moors ſhewed no bravery, but preſently fled.

Hunger preſſed in the city, for Alonzo's fleet had taken two gallies of the Moors, carrying in proviſions. At the beginning of one thouſand three hundred and forty-four, five barks got in, and they returned ſafe into Africa, and gave account, that the beſieged could hold out no longer. Preſently after, a treaty was ſet on foot, and on the twenty-ſixth of March the city was delivered upon the following conditions: "The king of Granada to pay "the uſual tribute for four years; that the beſieged have leave to "depart, and carry away their goods; and that there be a truce "for the term of ten years." Many of the Moors went over into Africa; and Alonzo entered the city in ſolemn proceſſion on the twenty-ſeventh of March; the great moſque was conſecrated, and the walls deſtroyed, and the country divided among the ſoldiers who were willing to live there. Such is the account which Mariana gives of this affair; I ſhall therefore relate this very important ſiege from the Modern Univerſal Hiſtory, as it contains a more particular account.

King Alonzo, having undertaken the important ſiege of Algezira, found great difficulty in raiſing the ſupplies for the next year, and money was extremely neceſſary, as he had the Genoeſe and other foreigners in his pay, and therefore what he could not obtain from the ſtates, he borrowed. The king of Morocco had made vaſt preparations, and ſeemed diſpoſed to return once more into Spain. Don Giles de Boccanegra ſunk, burned, and took twelve of his gallies from Portugal, and the ſquadron of Arragon attacked and beat the whole fleet of the Moors with great

loſs.

loſs (2). The king, notwithſtanding he found ſome backwardneſs in the nobility, who were really tired out with the length and the hardſhips of the ſervice, to rid himſelf once for all from the apprehenſions he was under from Barbary, reſolved to beſiege Algezira, which, as he was informed, was at that time but indifferently provided: this equally amazed and chagrined the king of Granada, who endeavoured and found ſeveral methods of conveying ſuccours into the place, which kept don Alonzo before it all the reſt of the year. The Moor attempted likewiſe its relief, by negotiation and by force, but without effect. He likewiſe commiſſioned a Moor to make an attempt upon the king of Caſtile's perſon, which was happily diſcovered and prevented, the fellow, as he deſerved, being put to death (3).

There are few inſtances in hiſtory of a more remarkable ſiege than this of Algezira, in which, on both ſides, there was manifeſted all that human ſkill and courage could perform; the king of Morocco raiſed another great army, and aſſembled a vaſt fleet; but when he was ready to paſs the Straits, one of his ſons revolted; and though he found means to have him killed, yet one of his adherents perſonated him, and maintained a rebellion. The king of Granada, having received a part of the ſuccours which his ally had promiſed, under the command of prince Aly, another of his ſons, attempted frequently to raiſe the ſiege, and ventured ſeveral actions, in which they were defeated by don Juan de Lara. The beſieged thundered upon the king's camp with cannon, which were here firſt employed, as all the Spaniſh hiſtorians agree (4). Beſides this oppoſition from his enemies, don Alonzo found himſelf much ſtraitened in other reſpects. He could not leave the ſiege to ſeek ſupplies, and his credit was gradually exhauſted. At

(2) Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Chronica del Rey don Alonzo el Ouzeno. Brandaon. (3) Chron. de los Moros de Eſpana. Rod. Santii Hiſt. Hiſpan. part IV. Ferreras. (4) Chron. del Rey don Alonzo el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Eſpana. Mariana. Mayerne. Turquet. Ferreras.

length

length he thought of a ſtratagem, which procured him thoſe aids his ſubjects had refuſed to his fortitude in neceſſity. He ſent his own plate, and that of the lords who were with him to Seville, where he ordered it to be coined into pieces current, at a higher rate than the ſtandard; of which the inhabitants in his great cities having notice, offered him a large free gift to deſiſt from that expedient, which he willingly accepted (5).

The pope and the French king likewiſe ſent him large ſums (6). The fame of this ſiege was ſo great, that don Philip, king of Navarre, repaired thither with a great body of troops, and died in his return. Several Engliſh and French men of quality, with conſiderable reinforcements, came thither, and ſerved for a time; but the extreme length of the ſiege tired out all the ſtrangers, and brought the king into freſh diſtreſſes for money; the Genoeſe threatening to return, or to revolt, if they were not paid (7). On the other hand, the king of Granada made a propoſition to pay the whole expences of the war, if the king would raiſe the ſiege; and this, in effect, was a freſh diſtreſs, for his hungry troops importuned the king to cloſe with theſe offers; but his good ſenſe furniſhed him with an expedient to turn, even this, to his advantage; for he demanded three hundred thouſand piſtoles in gold, and granted a paſſport for a galley to go to Ceuta to receive them from the king of Morocco. This galley, in her return, notwithſtanding the king's paſſport, was attacked by the Genoeſe, but, however, eſcaped; but, inſtead of bringing the money, brought an order to hazard a battle, and to ſave the place at any rate. Theſe orders were obeyed, and the Moors were thoroughly beaten (8). Still the place held out, notwithſtanding the port

(5) Rod. Santii Hiſt. Hiſpan. part IV. Chron. Gen. de Eſpan. (6) Rainald. P. Daniel Hiſt. de France. Ferreras. (7) Hiſtoria de Royaume de Navarre. Chron. var. Antiq. P. Daniel. Ferreras. (8) Chron. del Rey don Alonzo el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Eſpana. Alphonſ. a Cartagena reb. Hiſpan. Anacephalæoſis.

was

was blocked up, not only by a ſtrong ſquadron, but by a kind of dyke, in ſpite of which, one Muſa, a Mooriſh ſeaman, at ſtated times when the nights were dark, paſſed with fifty ſmall veſſels, that drew little water, and carried ſupplies of proviſions; ſo that, notwithſtanding the king's information was true, that their magazines were low at the beginning, yet they were, by this means, ſupplied, and the place remained in the hands of the Moors all this year (9).

At the beginning of the next year one thouſand three hundred and forty-three, the king diſcovered Muſa's practice; and having made ſuch alterations in his dyke, as rendered it impoſſible for the future; of which Abul Aſſan being informed, he directed the king of Granada to make the beſt terms for the garriſon he could. That prince propoſed to don Alonzo, that the troops and inhabitants ſhould have free leave to march out; that he would acknowledge himſelf his vaſſal, and pay the uſual tribute; and that a truce ſhould ſubſiſt for fifteen years; the king, to maintain his dignity, reduced the truce to ten years; and upon theſe terms the capitulation was ſigned on the twenty-ſixth of March, when the plenipotentiaries of the king of Granada kiſſed don Alonzo's hand, in token of homage (1). The place was evacuated the next day, and don Juan Emanuel entered it with a corps of troops, and the banner of Caſtile diſplayed, to the immortal honour of this great prince, and of his faithful nobility; by whoſe conſtancy, expreſſed in ſpending vaſt ſums for his ſervice, and by expoſing their perſons, this great conqueſt was attained. As ſoon as the king came to Seville, he ordered that the princeſſes, daughters of Abul Aſſan, who were taken in that monarch's camp, at the defeat of Salſedo, ſhould be provided with moſt magnificent equi-

(9) Rod. Santii Hiſt. Hiſpan. part IV. Chron. de los Moros de Eſpana. (1) Chron. del Rey don Alonzo el Ouzeno. Chron. de los Moros de Eſpana. Rod. Santii Hiſt. Hiſpan. part IV. Alphonſ. a Carthagena reg. Hiſpan. Anacephalæoſis. Mariana. Mayerne. Turquet. Ferreras.

pages, and ſent them with a ſuitable train on board his own gallies to Ceuta, without ranſom. Abul Aſſan was amazed at this act of generoſity, and ſoon after ſent an embaſſy to return the king of Caſtile thanks, and to teſtify his eſteem by preſents of jewels, rich arms, gold and ſilver ſtuffs, moſt exquiſite balſams and perfumes, together with lions, tigers, oſtriches, and a conſiderable number of camels and horſes (2). Soon after, don Alonzo received embaſſadors from England and from Arragon, the former in reference to a marriage, which he thought proper to defer, and the latter in regard to the alliance ſubſiſting between the two crowns, which the king was content to renew for ten years (3).

From this general, blended account, and the ſingle one from father Mariana, the reader muſt have full ſatisfaction of this memorable ſiege, fraught with great actions; and the firſt account of artillery in Europe.

However, in one thouſand three hundred and ſixty-nine, the Moors of Granada took and raiſed Algezira, which gave the king don Henry great concern. He therefore ordered his generals to lay waſte the open country, which was extremely well cultivated, which forced the Moors to demand a truce, which he granted, being convenient for his affairs (4).

CHAP. V.

OF CARTEIA, ALGEZIRA, TARIFA; OF PORTS UPON THE COAST OF THE STRAITS; OF BATTLES AND SIEGES, AND OTHER INCIDENTS.

THE true reaſon of placing Carteia at Tarifa or Algezira, ſeems to have been their not knowing any place which agreed better with the old accounts of Carteia (1), or where the

(2) Rod. Santii Hiſt. Hiſpan. part IV. Chron. de los Moros de Eſpana. Chron. Gen. de Eſpana. Rainald. (3) Zurit. Annal. Arragon. Rod. Santii Hiſt. Hiſpan. part IV. (4) Chron. Gen. de Eſp. Rod. Santii, &c. (1) Vid. Mr. Conduit in Phil. Tranſ.

ruins

ruins of a city, which made ſo great a figure, could be buried; the common practice of authors who deſcribe places they have not ſeen; this appears to have been the caſe with moſt, eſpecially Mariana (2); who, had he been in theſe parts, would not have been guilty of the overſight he has committed; where he places two bays in the Straits, one at Gibraltar, and the other at Tarifa, which error he was probably led into by another; for giving into the opinion, that Tarifa was the ancient Carteia, and finding that city placed in a bay by Mela, he concluded there muſt be one at Tarifa, which is an open road, and ſo much expoſed, that in the leaſt bad weather, the ſmalleſt veſſels muſt be hauled on ſhore; which circumſtance alone is a ſufficient proof of its not being Carteia, which by all accounts was a famous harbour.

Though, continues this hiſtorian, there were very large ruins at Algezira, yet they are not ſuch as give any room to ſuppoſe them to be the remains of a Roman city: for neither pieces of marble, inſcriptions, or Roman coins, are to be found there: and the circumſtance of Varus's ſhutting up the mouth of the harbour of Carteia, and the diſtance of forty or fifty ſtadia (3) from Calpe, are not applicable either to Tarifa or Algezira; and if one of thoſe towns was Carteia, to what city do thoſe ruins belong? ſince all the ancient geographers make Carteia not only the neareſt town to Calpe, but the only one in that bay.

Moſt of the ancient geographers deſcribe the coaſt weſtward of Carteia in the following manner: Julia Traducta, Mellaria, Belo Fluvius and Oppidum, Portus Bæſippo, Promontorium Junonis, &c. Antoninus's Itinerary makes no mention of Julia Traducta; and Pliny places it on the African coaſt, which Hardouin endeavours to account for (4). Strabo calls it Juliam Joſam; which, as Bochart (5) obſerves, ſignifies the ſame thing in the

(2) Mar. Hiſt. Spain, B. 1. c. ix. (3) A ſtadium was equal to ſix hundred and twenty-five feet. (4) Nummi Illuſtrati, p. 227. (5) Book 1. chap. xxiv.

Phœnician language, as Traductam in the Latin. Ptolemy calls it Tranſducta, and places Barbeſula between that and Carteia; but all other ancient geographers put both the town and river of that name eaſtward of Calpe.

Tarifa might have been built upon the ruins of Julia Traducta, which in all probability was a Phœnician town before. But I cannot conceive, why Mr. Conduit ſhould be ſurpriſed at Tarif's rebuilding that place, when he found materials for ſo doing. It is indeed true, that neither river or harbour is there; but the proximity to Tangier and the African coaſt on the Strait, is an inducement; and the light row-gallies which they uſed, could be as eaſily hauled on the beach, as now are the Spaniſh barks, and Barbary gallies: ſo were the Roman veſſels, as Cæſar himſelf teſtifies.

The riſing ground which now commands the caſtle and town of Tarifa, did not hinder it, in the Africans time, of fortifying that place; becauſe cannon was not then found out, and Mr. Conduit might have made the ſame objection to the caſtle of Gibraltar, which was built before the hill Calpe was environed with works. Therefore the eminence over Tarifa could not have annoyed that fortreſs, or be an hindrance to Tarif's building a caſtle on that ſpot at his ſecond landing: and indeed the noble defence that town made, is a ſufficient proof, that the riſing ground could not have been of any diſadvantage to the beſieged. The Moors kept in poſſeſſion of Tarifa five hundred and eighty-one years: for in one thouſand two hundred and ninety-two king Sancho, of Caſtile, after beating the Mahometan ſquadron of twenty gallies, taking thirteen of them, was induced to lay ſiege to Tarifa, which fortreſs, after a long ſiege, he took on the twenty-firſt of September; and Roderic, maſter of the knights of Calatrava, was made governour: afterwards Alonſo Perez de Guſman offered to defend it for one third of what was given to other governours: this gentleman was very rich; and had bought ſeveral towns in Andaluſia,

adding

adding them to his paternal eſtate. From him are deſcended the dukes of Medina Sidonia, originally a Phœnician fortreſs, where was a temple to the Tyrian Hercules.

In one thouſand two hundred and ninety-four, Tarifa was beſieged, and the walls battered with all manner of engines, but the place being very ſtrong, and the beſieged encouraged by their noble commander, defended themſelves as reſolutely. It happened that the governour Alonſo Perez de Guſman's (progenitor of the duke of Medina Sidonia, who commanded in the imagined invincible armada againſt England) only ſon was taken, whom the Moors preſented to the view of the garriſon, and threatened to cut off his head, unleſs the father ſurrendered. The father, not the leaſt daunted, anſwered, "That if he had an hundred ſons, they "ſhould all die ſooner than he would ſtain his honour, by deliver-"ing that place with which he had been entruſted;" and to ſhew his reſolution, threw a ſword from the wall for them to execute him: this done, he went away to dinner. Soon after he returned, called by a great ſhout the ſoldiers gave, ſeeing thoſe bloody Barbarians executing the innocent child. The father underſtanding the cauſe of that ſhout, calmly ſaid, "He thought the enemy had "entered the city," and ſo returned to dinner with his wife, without the leaſt ſeeming concern.

The Moors deſpairing of ſucceſs, ſince they could not move the governour by the death of his only ſon, returned into Africa. So we plainly ſee, that Tarifa was capable of defending itſelf, notwithſtanding its being commanded at this day by a riſing ground: and we are very ſure, that Tarifa was highly valued both by the Moors and Spaniards; as may be gathered from the treaty of peace propoſed to the Moors in one thouſand two hundred and ninety-ſix, when the king of Granada demanded Tarifa, offering for it twenty-two caſtles, and twenty thouſand crowns in ready money; and to advance the uſual tribute of four years; which occaſioned a difference between prince Henry, and Alonſo Perez de

de Guſman, who violently oppoſed the delivering that fortreſs into the hands of the Moors.

This difference was heightened to ſuch a degree, that the Moors being joined by ſome Chriſtians, laid ſiege to that city. Alonſo Perez de Guſman had not a ſufficient force, and his men deſerted him; thoſe were his enemies, who ought to have protected him. Nevertheleſs the place remained in the poſſeſſion of the Spaniards; who were again beſieged in one thouſand three hundred and forty, by that inundation of Africans, whoſe army conſiſted of ſeventy thouſand horſe, and four hundred thouſand foot: an incredible number! who were five months croſſing the Straits, and landed at Algezira, but were defeated at Salado; which obliged the Mahometans to raiſe the ſiege, and, ever ſince, it has belonged to Spain; but ſince the invention of gun-powder and expulſion of the Moors out of all Spain, it has been looked on of very little note, and is therefore in its fortifications gone to decay.

The routed Moors fled from Salado to Algezira, and fearing a ſiege, the king of Granada withdrew to Marbella, and Alboacen to Gibraltar, and ſailed that very ſame night into Africa. The Chriſtians, the next day, furniſhed the city of Tarifa with all neceſſaries, and ordered the breaches in the walls to be repaired.

However, this enormous act of perfidiouſneſs and unmanly cruelty, committed by the infant don Juan, is otherways told, and which is thought moſt probable.

The infant don Henry, ſon to St. Ferdinand, and uncle to don Sancho, returned in one thouſand two hundred and ninety-three from Italy, to reviſit his native country, after having run through a long ſeries of ſtrange adventures. The king received him very kindly at Burgos, and granted him ſuch a ſettlement as was ſuitable to his high rank, and near relation to him (6). Upon his

(6) Chron. del Rey don Sancho el Bravo.

application

application to the king of Portugal, not to protect his brother, the infant don Juan tranſported himſelf to Morocco, and finding Jacob Aben Joſeph meditating war, he offered, if he would give him five thouſand horſe, and ſome foot, to recover Tarifa, which his brother had taken the year before. His propoſal was accepted, and having embarked his forces in Andaluſia, he inveſted Tarifa with a numerous army. The place was defended by don Alonſo Perez de Guſman, with ſuch ſpirit, that the Moors began to be diſcouraged. The infant don Juan being informed that the governour had a little ſon at nurſe in an adjacent village, he cauſed the child to be brought to him, and then bid the Caſtilian advanced guard tell the governour, that if he did not immediately ſurrender the place, he would cut the child's throat before his eyes. This occaſioned ſome commotion in the garriſon, don Alonſo roſe from dinner to know what was the matter, and coming upon the walls, ſaw don Juan with his ſon in his hand, and heard him repeat his threats. Don Alonſo immediately drew his ſword, and throwing it to the infant, ſaid, "If you, who were "born a prince, and educated a Chriſtian, dare to commit ſo ex-"ecrable a villainy, know that I dare both keep the place and "furniſh you with a weapon." This, though it ſtruck both the Moors and the garriſon with admiration, had no effect upon the monſter to whom it was addreſſed, ſince, in the ſight of both, he took up the ſword and butchered the poor infant. The length of the ſiege gave don Sancho time to come to its relief, with a numerous army, upon which the Moors raiſed the ſiege, and don Juan, being to go back to Morocco, deſerted them, and retired to the king of Granada, to whom Aben Joſeph yielded Algezira, the only place he had left in Spain, that he might be rid of any connections with that country. A reſolution, however, to which himſelf and his ſucceſſors did not always adhere (7).

(7) Mod. Univ. Hiſt. Vol. xx. B. xix. c. i. p. 243, 244.

I find

I find this town was afterwards a captainſhip: for in one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-ſeven (8), the admiral of Spain recovered the government and captainſhip of Tarifa, with the caſtle thereof, which was given to his brother don Pedro Henriques, governour of the frontiers of Andaluſia, who placed therein one Pedro de Godoy.

Tarifa ſtands upon an eminence, but is commanded; and from the coins that have been found there, the antiquaries are of opinion, that it was the Julia Traducta of the Romans (9). Its ancient walls and towers, with a ſtrong caſtle, are ſtill in being; and many of their houſes are in the Mooriſh taſte, as at Algezira and Gibraltar. But it may boaſt of much greater antiquity, for the tracks of a Roman colony are evident, not only from the ſtructure of the town-wall itſelf in ſeveral places, but from ſome noble fragments of architecture, both in the public and private buildings; and theſe evidences are ſtrengthened by urns, medals, and inſcriptions, that have been frequently found there: here is a tower ſo called from the illuſtrious houſe of Guſman, who ſawed off its battlements, his ſon being ſacrificed.

Mr. Conduit ſaw (1) ſome ruins on the eaſt ſide of the river Guadiaro, four leagues eaſt of Gibraltar, which he takes to be the remains of the ancient Barbeſula; as mention is made in the Cadiz Emporio del Obre of two pieces of marble brought from thence to Gibraltar; on one of which was M. M. BARBESVLANI. He was alſo credibly informed, they were uſed for the fountain upon the parade; the letters, probably, ſays he, were either ſawed off, or turned inwards, as they did not appear: and that this Barbeſula might be the Barberiana placed in the itinerary X. M. P. eaſt from Carteia. Mr. Conduit met with two medals of Julia Traducta among the braſs coins; but as he could not aſcertain where they were found, he therefore does not pretend to form from

(8) Turquet. Gen. Hiſt. Spain, Book XXII. p. 868. (9) Udal ap Rhy's account of Spain. (1) Vid. Phil. Tranſ.

thence

thence any judgment of the ſituation of the town, to which they might have belonged. This ſame gentleman had ſeveral Roman coins found there after great rains, in the common ſewer; which he imagined to be ſome ſlight inducement to believe, that a Roman town ſtood formerly at Tarifa.

That about a league and a half to the weſtward of Tarifa, is a place, which went by the name of Val de Vaca: the country people have a tradition, that it was once a conſiderable town, but ſince ſwallowed up by the ſea: there is a ſmall brook, which ſerves to turn ſome mills, that a prieſt was encouraged to build there, by finding an ancient ſtone channel for the water. Mr. Conduit ſaw ſome other ſmall ruins, and was credibly aſſured, that there are viſible remains of an old town a good way under water. There is a ſhoal almoſt off this place that runs pretty far into the ſea: perhaps Mellaria ſtood ſome where near.

Wherever it ſtood, its ruins muſt be a conſiderable way in the ſea, if we credit Pliny, who, in his third book, upon the teſtimony of a perſon born there, reckons only five miles from thence to Africa; whereas, it is at preſent five leagues over at the narroweſt part. Caſaubon is therefore miſtaken in that note, on the ſecond book of Strabo, when he ſays, that the mouth of the Mediterranean, where narroweſt, is ſcarce ſeventy ſtadia broad.

It is to be obſerved, that the beſt honey in all Spain is made in theſe parts; and that the ſame cauſe, to which the ancient Mellaria owed its name, ſtill ſubſiſts, and has given a modern appellation to ſeveral places, as Rio de la Miel, Bejer de la Miel; the latter of theſe is generally reckoned by the Spaniards to be the old Mellaria; for no other reaſon but the name; for it is, at leaſt, two leagues from the coaſt of the Straits; and by what Mr. Conduit could judge when he was upon the ſpot, as near the ocean, and therefore may as well be aſcribed to one as the other; whereas Mellaria, according to all the ancient geographers, was ſituated on the ſea-ſide in the Straits, and reckoned by Pliny the

neareſt town to Africa; a plain proof, that it was not that which is now called Bejer de la Miel.

About a league and a half farther weſt, in a ſmall bay, there are very large ruins, which appear plainly to be the remains of a Roman town; a league eaſtward, upon an eminence, are to be ſeen the quarries from which the ſtones were got for building it; and all the way from thence, are large remains of an aqueduct, of which there are in ſome places entire arches ſtill ſtanding. Among the ruins of the old town, Mr. Conduit ſaw the body of a large ſtatue of fine alabaſter, ſomewhat bigger than the life; his guide, ſaid he, had ſeen it entire; but as it was an idol of the Gentiles, they had broke it to pieces: the guide likewiſe ſaid, that certain old coins were found there. This place is called Balonia, and is over againſt Tangier, in Africa, and frequented by the Moors, on which account it is uninhabited; a ſmall river called Alpariata runs by it; all which circumſtances agree with the ancient accounts of Balo.

Mr. Conduit had a medal given him at Tangier, with the following letters upon it, BAILO, which probably belonged to this city; for it was uſual with the Monetarii to impreſs the name of the city upon the coin, as I have ſufficiently ſhewn on thoſe I found in the ruins at Rocadillo, the Carteia of the Ancients, in Gibraltar bay.

Bailo was called by Martianus Cappella (2), under the name of Velonienſis Bæticæ Civitas: the itinerary of Antoninus places it ſix miles weſt of Mellaria, which is about the diſtance of theſe ruins, from Val de Vaca. About five leagues further is the cape Trafalgar, which Mela deſcribes: near the cape's point, are the ruins often mentioned by the Spaniſh authors under the name of Aquas de Mecca. Mr. Conduit was aſſured, that there are ſtill ſome ruins on the ſhore, and more in the ſea that run along under

(2) Book VI.

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the cape; particularly remains of a mole, which muſt have been a tolerable harbour. Theſe ruins ſeem to be the remains of old Beſippo, aggreeable to Mela (3) and Pliny (4), who place next to the cape, or head of Juno, the haven Beſippo, and the towns as follows: Belon and Mellaria, the Straits or firth out of the Atlantic ſea: then Carteia, called Tarteſſus by the Greeks, and then the mountain Calpe: then within the firm land, the town Barbeſula, with the river: item, the town Salbula, Suel-Malacha upon the river: then Menoba; ſo much for Pliny; now for Mela: Junonis Promontorium, (now Sancta Maria, aut el puerto de Sancta Maria) Mellaria, and Bello: Mellaria non extat. Carteia, Salduba, nunc Ubeda. Malaca, nunc Malaga. Menoba, nunc Velez Malaga.

Cape Trafalgar in Europe, and cape Spartel in Africa, form the entrance of the Fretum Herculeum, from the Atlantic ocean; and Europa point on Gibraltar rock, and Ceuta point in Barbary, form the entrance of the Mediterranean ſea. So vice verſa. But the lands about Tarifa, are the ſouthernmoſt towards Africa.

The coaſt of the Mediterranean, from Malaga to Cadiz, is moſtly high lands: for the mountain Oroſpeda divides itſelf into two parts; one of them ſtretches itſelf towards Malaca, and joining to the mountains of Granada, runs beyond Gibraltar, (which is a peculiar mountain ſeparate, and by itſelf) and Tarifa, as if it deſigned to paſs the Straits into Africa (5).

But it ſeems very ſtrange, that Mariana, and ſeveral others, ſhould take the preſent Gibraltar to have been the ancient Heraclea; when neither Pliny, who reſided ſo long in thoſe parts, and Mela, who was born not many miles off, make not the leaſt mention of any ſuch city thereabouts; excepting Strabo, who places it at forty ſtadia from Calpe, at the foot of which Gibral-

(3) Mela de Situ Orb. Book II. chap. vi. (4) Book I. chap. vii. (5) Mar. Hiſt. Spain, B. I. c. ii.

tar is now ſituated. I am therefore perſuaded, that Heraclea was at the fort of Carteia, called El Torre de Cartahena; and therefore agree in the grounds of moſt Spaniſh hiſtorians, that there was no town upon that mountain till the Moors invaded Spain, under Taric, or Tharik, who gave name to the hill; and which it has retained ever ſince.

It happened, that after the ſiege already related of Algezira, that Alboacen being invaded, and encountered by one of his ſons called Alboanen (6), who had rebelled againſt him, at length deprived him of the kingdom of Fez, whereby the king of Caſtile entered into a new jealouſy of war, this uſurping, unnatural ſon not reſpecting the truce made with his father.

This Alboanen did not only take from his father the realm of Fez, but alſo all that he held in Spain, as Ronda, Zachara, Gibraltar, Ximena, Marbella, Eſtapona, Caſtillar, and others: but whilſt the Moors moleſted one another, the king of Caſtile and his ſubjects had ſome reſt, whereof they had great need, by reaſon of their continual toil, and great expences at the ſiege of Algezira.

But prior to this ſiege of Algezira by thirty-three years, I find the agreement betwixt D. Ferdinand, the fourth of that name, and twelfth king of Caſtile, and thirty-third of Leon, and Mahumet Aben Alhama, the third king of Granada, was made (7): yet as ſoon as the king D. Ferdinand ſaw his eſtate ſomewhat ſettled, it was broken: for the kings of Caſtile and Arragon met at Memeal in one thouſand three hundred and nine: they concluded to make war againſt king Mahumet Aben Alhamar the blind: and although the conqueſt of Granada did not belong to Caſtile, yet a ſixth part thereof was granted to the king of Arragon, who made preparation to beſiege Almery, whilſt the king D. Ferdinand ſhould beſiege Algezira.

(6) Vid. Turquet's Hiſt. Spain. (7) Lewis de Mayerne. Turquet. Gen. Hiſt. Spain, Book XIII. p. 454.

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The king of Granada being advertiſed of this plot, was much incenſed againſt theſe princes, who had not kept their words; but eſpecially againſt the king of Arragon, who had no intereſt to Granada, the diviſion being made betwixt the ancient Chriſtian kings, and by the pope's authority: Mahumet ſent a good garriſon to Algezira, and to all other places, attending the event of this war; which was begun by the king of Arragon, who ſent ſome gallies in favour of Aborrabe the Moor, who was expelled, ſtiling himſelf king of Almery, who beſieged Ceuta in Africa, and took it by the means of theſe ſuccours; at the ſame time the king of Arragon went and laid ſiege to Almeria; and he of Caſtile to Algezira.

The Moors incenſed moſt againſt the Arragonians, went to the field on that ſide, and gave many routs and hindrances to them that held the ſiege, and to them that came to it.

Algezira being well furniſhed, defended itſelf ſo well, that the king D. Ferdinand finding the ſiege would be tedious, ſent the archbiſhop of Seville, D. Alphonſo Perez de Guſman, D. John Nugnes de Lara, with part of the army to Gibraltar; which place yielded, and the inhabitants and ſoldiers were tranſported into Africa, and their baggage in ſhips, which the king of Caſtile furniſhed according to agreement: for an old Moor being there, who complaining to the king of divers alterations to which he had been forced, all the people were reſolved to paſs into Africa, and not to live any longer in Spain. This Moor ſaid unto the king: "I was an inhabitant of Seville, when thy great grand-"father D. Ferdinand took it, from whence being expelled, I "went to remain at Xeres, from thence D. Alphonſo, thy grand-"father, chaſed me; and I retired to Tarifa, which being taken "by the king D. Sancho, thy father, I thought to live here in "peace, from whence you diſlodge me; therefore I will paſs into "Africa to ſpend the remainder of my days, with all the inhabi-

"tants

" tants of this place, where we ſhall have no cauſe to fear the " Chriſtians."

The king D. Ferdinand being returned to Algezira, and ſeeking by all means poſſibly to force it; the Moors by commiſſion from their king made an agreement with him, to yield unto him all the places taken in the former wars in Andaluſia, and fifty thouſand doubloons, ſo that he would raiſe the ſiege before Algezira. This agreement was made, when the king could do no more, on account of his army's ſufferings, through the continual rain, and other accidents, ſo that many noblemen died; among whom was don Diego Lopes de Haro. During this war D. Alphonſo Perez de Guſman died alſo in an encounter againſt the Moors, being ſhot through with an arrow: and theſe loſſes were increaſed by the retreat of don John of Caſtile, who carried many knights away with him, and by that means weakened the army: the king therefore reſolved to receive the ſum of gold already mentioned, with the places of Queſada, Bedmar, Quadros, and Chunquin.

Thus Algezira was delivered, and a truce made between the realms of Caſtile and Granada: but whereas the king don Ferdinand found himſelf in poſſeſſion of thoſe towns and a good ſum of money, he did not care to keep his promiſe, but ſent don Pedro, his brother, with the reſt of the army to the caſtle of Tempul, near to Algezira, which he took, and then returned to Seville, where D. John Nugnes de Lara was newly arrived out of France, from pope Clement, of whom he had obtained permiſſion for the king to take the tithes for the wars againſt the Moors: king Mahumet the blind was ſoon after depoſed by his own brother Mahumet Azar Aben Lemin, being favoured by many great men, Moors, who were diſcontented to be governed by a blind king, who could not lead them to the wars in perſon.

The Moors of Spain had always a great affinity and intelligence with thoſe of Africa: ſo we find, that Joſeph Aben Jacob, the ſecond

ſecond king of the race of Merins, who in the year one thouſand two hundred and ninety-one, was trying to paſs into Spain, when the king of Caſtile took Tarifa from him: but being ſtopped by Benedict Zachary, admiral of Caſtile, he turned his deſigns againſt Alboacid, king of Tremeſſen, and his ſucceſſor Boham.

The miramamolin of Africa, (which ſignifies the father of the faithful) Jacob Aben Joſeph, took poſt at Algezira with great troops of horſe, and he and Alphonſo the eleventh had an interview at Zahara (8) in Granada, whereas he of Morocco arrived firſt. The manner of this interview was as follows: the king of the Moors cauſed a rich pavilion to be ſet up in the open field, under which were two ſeats made like thrones, one higher than the other, and more eminent. The chief of the noblemen of the family of the Merins (from whence the miramamolin was deſcended) were placed at the entry, and commanded to kiſs D. Alphonſo's feet; and not to ſuffer him to alight from his horſe before he was near the pavilion, where being arrived, king Aben Joſeph and he embraced one another like brethren, and ſo entered into the pavilion holding hands: the royal and magnificent ceremonies, which they uſed in their ſitting down, were great and long, each ſtriving to give more honourable place to the other: but in the end, the king of Caſtile was forced to ſit in the higheſt; the king of Morocco ſaying: "It was reaſonable that D. Alphonſo, a king, "deſcended from kings, and born of a king, ſhould be ſet above, "rather than himſelf, whom God, by his mercy, had advanced "to that dignity but of late time."

But prior to theſe times, the confederate Moors and vaſſals of king D. Alphonſo, the tenth of that name, called in Aben Joſeph, the miramamolin of Africa, that they might not only ſhake off the Chriſtians yoke, but alſo make a notable breach in the eſtates

(8) Turquet. Gen. Hiſt. Spain, B. XII. p. 416.

of

of Leon and Caſtile, the king being abſent, or at leaſt they ſhould ſeize upon Andaluſia: the miramamolin Aben Mahomed the old, of the race of Almohades, being dead, after he had loſt the battle of Muradal: his grandchild, called Caid Arrax, reigned, who was the ſon of Buxal, who died before his father Mahumet.

This Caid Arrax was the fifth king of Africa, of the race of Almohades, whoſe empire extended from the weſt ocean unto Egypt. There were many admirals or governours under him, ruling the provinces; among them was Gomoraça Aben Zein, of the lineage of Abdalues, who held the province of Tremeſen, and behaving himſelf covetouſly and violently in his government, fell into diſgrace with his king, Caid Arrax, by carrying himſelf rebelliouſly; which obliged the king to beſiege him in a caſtle called Tremezezir, whereas a Moor, couſin to Gomoraça, going out of the fort, ſlew the Miramolin, when ſeeming to yield, and pointing out a place, where the caſtle might be taken. The army amazed at the death of their king, was inſtantly ſet upon by the garriſon of Tremezezir, being led by Gomaraça, and put to flight, by which victory, the Moor appropriated that province unto himſelf, cauſing himſelf to be called king of Tremeſen, and this was the beginning of that kingdom.

At the ſame time there was a family of Moors, in the city of Fez, called the Benaotazes and Merines, which deſcended from a famous Moor, called Merin, who had been a Chriſtian, and became a Mahometan: the chief of this houſe, at that time, was called Bucar Aben Merin, and governed the city of Fez, under the miramamolin Caid Arrax; after whoſe death, and the defeat of his army by Gomaraça, before Tremezezir, this Bucar Aben Merin fell upon the Almohades, which had eſcaped and gathered themſelves together about Fez, whom having routed, he took upon himſelf to be king of Fez, imitating that which his companion Gomaraça Aben Zein had done in Tremeſſen, and giving a beginning to this new kingdom.

A brother of his, called Jacob Aben Joſeph, uſurped (in the ſame troubles) the principality in Ribat: ſo as the eſtate of the Almohades reigning in Morocco, was then much decayed. Theſe being advertiſed of the death of Caid Arrax, and of the tyrannies above named, preſently advanced a kinſman of his to the royal ſeat; his name was Almorcada, who was the ſixth miramamolin of the race of the Almohades: he was no ſooner crowned king, but he took the field, to puniſh theſe rebels, who had ſtiled themſelves kings in their governments. Firſt he aſſailed Bucar Aben Merin, the new king of Fez, but he was repulſed and vanquiſhed; ſo the race of Merins kept poſſeſſion of Fez, and the territory in the plain country, or Algarve, as the Moors call it.

Bucar dying, his ſon Hiaja reigned after him, under the tutelage of Jacob Aben Joſeph his uncle, being then very young, but he lived not long; wherefore Jacob Aben Joſeph remained heir to the realm of Fez, and was much eſteemed, and feared among the Moors, being called (as an honour) the old or elder of the Merins. This Moor's good fortune was not ſo bounded, for Budebuz, nephew to Almorcada, king of Morocco, rebelling againſt him, and retiring to Fez, gave him an occaſion to get the realm of Morocco, and to join it unto Fez.

Budebuz intreated Jacob Aben Joſeph to aid him againſt his uncle, promiſing to give all that he held of the realm of Fez unto the river Natab. Jacob Aben Joſeph gave him ſuccours, as Almorcada being amazed, durſt not attend him within Morocco, but fled, being purſued by certain horſemen, which Budebuz ſent after him, whom they overtook and ſlew, carrying his head to the king of Fez: whereby Budebuz became peaceable in his kingdom of Morocco, being the ſeventh and laſt king of the Almohades. Finding himſelf ſettled in his kingdom, he would have mocked Jacob Aben Joſeph, who had helped him to attain this dignity, not caring to perform any promiſe, but threatened to take Fez from him, for which ingratitude, there began a cruel

war betwixt them, which continued three years, when it ended by the defeat and death of king Budebuz, ſlain in battle; whoſe eſtate Jacob Aben Joſeph ſeized, putting an end to the reign of Almohades, and beginning that of the family of Merin in Africa, about one thouſand two hundred and ſeventy.

It is this Jacob Aben Joſeph, who ſent one thouſand light horſe Arabians into Spain to Mahumet Alhamar, king of Granada, under the conduct of a captain with one eye, but of great authority: with whom D. Alphonſo, the wiſe king of Caſtile, having not vouchſafed to treat of a truce, when he went into France to court the pope. Mir Almuz, who had ſucceeded in Granada, and he, conſpired together, to the prejudice of Caſtile, and all the Chriſtians in Spain: for this king of Granada being diſcontented with the agreements which he had made at his firſt entrance, in which he could not procure king Alphonſo to abandon the captains of Malaga and Guadix his enemies; he found that theſe Moors who had been enemies to his father and him, would attempt ſomething againſt his realm, and therefore he reſolved, at what price ſoever, to ruin him: and as this engaged him in a war with the king of Caſtile, he therefore ſolicited Jacob Aben Joſeph to undertake the enterprize of Spain, as his predeceſſors, kings of Arabia, had done, offering him the towns and ports of Algezira and of Tarifa for his deſcent; of which the miramamolin accepted, finding himſelf aſſured of his ſtate, and mighty in men and arms: but it happened, that they of Malaga and Guadix, ſeeing that the truce, which they had with the king of Granada, was near expired, and doubting they ſhould have war, and not be relieved by the forces of Caſtile, by reaſon of the king's abſence, they held it the beſt courſe to reconcile themſelves to the king of Granada, as in like manner the captain of Comares did, who was of the ſame league.

Notwithſtanding the miramamolin having levied great forces to paſs into Spain, he alſo ſent ſome troops of Moors to receive the towns

towns of Algezira and Tarifa, according to agreement, which were delivered to them. Soon after he arrived in perſon at Algezira, and afterwards paſſed over ſeventeen thouſand horſe. The two kings met in the country of Malaga, where they concluded to make war againſt the Chriſtians; the African king towards Eecia, and he of Granada by Jaen: this paſſage was contrary to the expectation of the Chriſtian princes, for the miramamolin, who could not make ſo great a levy of horſe without knowledge, made a ſhew, as if he would go againſt one of his ſubjects, who had rebelled, and by ſtrength took the town of Ceuta; and the better to diſſemble the deſign, he had ſent to intreat the king of Arragon to aſſiſt him in this war with ten gallies, and ſome ſhips of burden, with five hundred horſe, to whom he promiſed good entertainment.

Don Ferdinand de la Cerde, viceroy and lieutenant general in Spain for his father, did not diſcover that theſe forces were prepared for Caſtile, until they had paſſed the Straits; being then at Burgos, he was informed of the league betwixt theſe Mooriſh kings, and of the reconciliation of them of Malaga and Guadix with the king of Granada, all which inconveniencies aroſe by the king's abſence; wherefore, voluntarily, and at the inſtance of don Nugno de Lara, who was at Cordova, he made the ſpeedieſt preparation he could, to oppoſe the violence of theſe infidels.

Don Nugno, knowing the miramamolin took the way of Eecia, drew near to that quarter, with ſuch forces as he could muſter together: but finding the paſſage ſtopped, he was forced to fight with the Moors, where, after a long action, he was defeated, and ſlain, yet moſt of his men which eſcaped, entered by night into Eecia.

The victorious Moors having found the body of Nugno, cut off his head, and ſent it to Mahumet, king of Granada, who was glad of this victory, but very much diſcontented for the death of the earl don Nugno, who had been the cauſe of his reigning; wherefore he ſent his head to Cordova to be buried with his body.

The like misfortune happened to don Sancho of Arragon, archbiſhop of Toledo, who having gathered together all the ſoldiers of Toledo, Guadalajara, Madrid, and Talavera, preſented himſelf upon the frontier, where he encountered the king of Granada's army, invading the dioceſe of Jaen, where he was ſlain, and his army put to flight: his body, head, and hand, where he wore the pontifical ring, being ſeparated, were recovered from the Moors, and carried to Toledo, where they were buried with great ſorrow of all the people, taking it as a mournful preſage of the affairs of Spain. D. Gonzalo, biſhop of Burgos, ſucceeded him in this dignity, and was afterwards made a cardinal.

They write, that the archbiſhop don Sancho did not die fighting, but being taken, a debate aroſe between ſome captains of Moors, ſtriving who ſhould lead him to the miramamolin Jacob Aben Joſeph, or to king Mahumet; when Aben Atar, governour of Malaga, arriving, and foreſeeing ſome ſlaughter might follow among the Moors, he caſt a dart at the archbiſhop, which pierced him through.

Upon the day of the defeat, D. Lopes Dias de Haro, lord of Biſcay, arrived with a great army, and was joined with thoſe that had retreated after the above action: they ſoon came to another engagement with the Moors, who received them courageouſly, ſo that neither army could boaſt of victory, when night parted them.

At this time, the infant D. Ferdinand, viceroy, died in Villareal, where he attended the reſt of his forces, in order to go himſelf in perſon to this war: this prince finding himſelf near his end, recommended his eldeſt ſon D. Alphonſo, an infant, to D. John Nugnes of Lara, eldeſt ſon to the earl D. Nugno, conjuring him to take the charge and guard of him, and of his right to the realm to ſucceed his grandfather don Alphonſo the wiſe; which D. John Nugnes promiſed him, and being dead, he cauſed his body to be carried to Burgos, where it was buried in the monaſtery of Las Huelgas.

The

The miſeries which enſued, brought the realm into great trouble; but the infant don Sancho, who had been ſent back by king Alphonſo from Perpignan, being informed of his brother's death, went with all ſpeed to Villa-real, where he was received by his army, as lieutenant to the king his father. The miramamolin, not being able to take Eecia, and finding the Chriſtian forces greatly augmented, he retired to Algezira and Tarifa; and ſeeming to himſelf he had done enough, and likewiſe the king of Granada, they reſolved to make a truce for two years with the Chriſtians, which being concluded, and ſworn to, Jacob Aben Joſeph, retired into Africa, holding ſtill the towns of Algezira and Tarifa, where he left good ſtores and garriſons: and this was the ſucceſs of this Arabian war, king don Alphonſo being abſent.

CHAP. VI.

OF SPAIN, ITS CLIMATE; OF ANDALUSIA; THE BATTLE OF SALADO, ALGEZIRA; AND ACTIONS BETWEEN THE MOORS AND CHRISTIANS, ETC.

THE form of Spain is ſuppoſed to be like unto an ox's hide ſtretched out (1); and the rump of the tail, the part I am treating of, upon the ſide of the Fretum Herculeum: it is divided from France by the Pyrenean hills, and from Afric by the narrow Straits of Gibraltar; it is therefore encompaſſed on all ſides by the ſea, except on the ſide of the Pyrenean mountains, which run from ſea to ſea, and expire in two promontories, one upon the ocean, or bay of Biſcay, the other in the Mediterranean, which are the ſhoulders of the ſtretched hide, as the Pyreneans in the center is the neck, from whence the head may be allowed to have been ſtruck off.

(1) Mar. Hiſt. Spain, p. 1, 2, 3.

The climate in Spain varies greatly, but the air on the Straits is not ſo intemperate and ſcorching as ſome have repreſented it (2); yet much hotter than in England, and thoſe heats are tempered with cooling breezes and refreſhing ſhowers, which invigorate every thing that grows, and greatly conduces to the health and refreſhment both of man and beaſt.

This province of Andaluſia upon the Straits, was the Bætica of the Romans, and was comprehended in the Hiſpania Ulterior, or further Spain.

It is ſaid, that Andaluſia came from Vandalitia (3), houſes of the Vandals, or rather the country where they lived: it is one of the beſt provinces in Spain, and ſo fruitful in corn, wine, and oil, that it is called the cellar and granary of Spain. It is likewiſe remarkable for being the moſt jealous (4) province; for which reaſon it is ſaid, that Andaluſia is the centre of jealouſy.

From the foreſt of Andaluſia the bulls are taken for thoſe bull-fights at Madrid, which are performed on St. John's day; the bulls of Tarifa are the beſt.

The moſt furious are in Andaluſia; and after the king has appointed a bull-feaſt, there are ſome cows, which they call mandarines, led into the foreſts and mountains of Andaluſia; and as they are trained up for this purpoſe, ſo they run into the wood; the bulls ſpy them out, and eagerly court them; thoſe fly, and theſe purſue them: and ſo are decoyed into certain palliſadoes, ſet on purpoſe along the way, which is ſometimes thirty or forty miles in length; ſeveral men armed with half pikes, and well mounted, hunt theſe bulls, and hinder them from returning to the foreſt; but it is not ſeldom that they are forced to fight them within theſe pales, and frequently they are killed, or wounded.

(2) Brockwell's Nat. Hiſt. of Portugal. (3) The Curious Antiquary, by P. L. Berkenmeyer. (4) Lady's Travels into Spain, Vol. II. p. 56.

There

There are people placed all along the road, who bring advice when the bulls will arrive at Madrid; and there alſo they ſet palliſadoes in the ſtreet, to prevent any miſchief.

The Mandarines, who are real traitors, go conſtantly before, and the poor bulls quietly follow after into the very place deſigned for baiting them, where there are great ſtables built on purpoſe, with ſhutters contrived to keep them in; there are ſometimes thirty, forty, or fifty together; this ſtable has two doors, the Mandarines go in at one, and eſcape at the other; and when the bulls think to follow them, ſtill they are hindered by a trap, in which they are caught.

As I have mentioned the famous battle of Salado, and as the ſcene of action and diſembarking the multitude of Africans was in Gibraltar bay, I think myſelf bound to relate that deſcent fully.

Abomelique being ſlain with ten thouſand Moors, as is ſaid (5), the lamentation was great in Africa, and they were ſtirred up with a thirſt of revenge; great levies were therefore raiſed throughout all that empire, in order to invade Spain. King Alboacen being come to Ceuta in the beginning of one thouſand three hundred and forty, with ſeventy gallies, and two hundred and fifty ſhips, with ſeventy thouſand horſe, and four hundred thouſand foot. In the mean time king Alphonſo, who was at Seville, was afflicted with the thoughts of making head againſt ſo great a multitude; another misfortune increaſed his trouble; D. Gonſalo Martinez, or Nunez, maſter of Calatrava, was impeached of ſeveral heinous crimes, and being ſummoned to appear and anſwer for himſelf, fled to the king of Granada. The king was alſo incenſed againſt the admiral, and reproached him with cowardice and treachery, which he could not bear; and raſhly went to ſea from St. Lucar (6), with the few gallies he commanded, and appeared before

(5) Mar. Hiſt. Spain, Book xvi. c. vi. p. 261. (6) Turquet's Hiſt. Spain.

Alge-

Algezira, provoking the Moors to action: they poured out in vaſt numbers from Algezira and Gibraltar, gave the admiral battle in the bay of Gibraltar, defeated and killed him, after an obſtinate defence; and but five of his fleet could reach their port of Tarifa.

This action gave the Moors a free paſſage to tranſport their troops; five months they took to paſs over the above multitude from the ſhore of the weſtern ocean unto Egypt, as there was no king in that length of Africa, but was their ſubject, or ſtrictly allied to Alboacen, being alſo inſtigated by their prieſts to arms, and enter upon immediate ſervice: beſides theſe gallies, thoſe of Granada and Tunez joined, and they landed the men at Algezira and Gibraltar.

The king of Caſtile was much perplexed about the dangerous poſture of affairs in Spain; he aſſembled all the prelates and nobility at Seville, where he was making preparations for the war, and laid before them the condition of the kingdom, &c. Some were deſirous for making peace with the Moors at any rate; others oppoſed that opinion, ſince no peace could then be honourable or ſecure. This prevailing, the kings of Arragon and Portugal were ſolicited to join their forces with Caſtile: the fleet was then prepared at St. Lucar: the king of Arragon ſent his fleet; and fifteen were purchaſed by the king of Caſtile from Genoa. The Portugueze ſent twelve gallies: forces from all parts marched to Seville, where they heard of Alboacen, and the king of Granada had laid ſiege to Tarifa. They ſat down before it on the twenty-third of September, and battered it furiouſly, applying great wooden towers to the walls for the greater terror. Though the garriſon was numerous, it was feared they could not long hold out; here a council of war was held (7), to conſult whether it was fit to fight the Moors, who beſieged Tarifa, and were an innumerable multitude, or no; while ſome were of opinion to yield

(7) Emanuel de Faria y Suſa's Hiſt. Portug. B. III. c. ix. p. 226.

Tarifa

Tarifa to them, but the king of Portugal's opinion prevailed, that the place ſhould be relieved. The king of Caſtile therefore gave them freſh aſſurance of relief, and provided for it with all poſſible diligence: forbidding (8) them expreſsly not to ſally, for the loſs of one man was more to him, than a hundred to Alboacen.

The king of Portugal had with him all the flower of his nobility, and the beſt ſoldiers of his country; his horſe were but one thouſand: more valuable, ſays Mariana, for their bravery than number; they both marched from Seville, where the rendezvous was, reſolving to relieve Tarifa, or hazard a battle for it. The number of Chriſtians was not to compare with the Moors, for they had but fourteen thouſand horſe and twenty-five thouſand foot, yet with that force they marched to Tarifa. Alboacen had beſides the great number of horſe and foot which he brought out of Africa, the forces of Granada, conſiſting of ſeven thouſand horſe, and a vaſt body of foot.

The Mooriſh kings underſtanding the reſolution of the Chriſtian army, burnt their engines, and poſſeſſed themſelves of certain hills near their camp. They intrenched, not believing the victory ſecure; but ſent Albohamar, infant of Morocco, with two thouſand horſe to keep the paſſage of the river Salado, which runs between La Pena del Ciervo and Tarifa, which were defeated by a thouſand horſe, and four thouſand foot, which the king of Caſtile had ſent to fling themſelves into Tarifa, and which they happily effected. Theſe five thouſand Chriſtians had orders, that when they ſaw the armies engaged, to ſally and flank the infidels upon the hills; the reſt of the army was ordered to refreſh themſelves, and be ready for action at break of day. Great joy was among the Chriſtians that night, they offered up their vows to heaven, and ſwore to ſtand by one another, and never to return home unleſs victorious.

(8) Turquet. Hiſt. Spain.

At break of day, the kings, and others by their example, received the holy communion, and then the army was drawn out. The ſtandard of the Croiſade was by the pope's order advanced, and all the ſoldiers wore a red croſs on their breaſts, in token they fought for the faith. The king of Portugal undertook to charge him of Granada, and had with him, beſides his own people, the maſters of Calatrava, and Alcantara. The king of Caſtile, juſt as the armies were ready to engage, encouraged his men; and then the ſignal being given, they moved towards the enemy. Between the two armies was a river called Salado, which not far from thence falls into the ſea; from this river the battle took its name, and was ever called Salado.

Whoever firſt paſſed the river, ſeemed to have the advantage, therefore the Mooriſh king ſent two thouſand horſe to guard the paſſage: mean while he not doubting of victory, rode among his battalions. Some of the Chriſtians that arrived firſt at the river, made a ſtand; while others paſſing over a ſmall bridge, entered firſt into engagement; but met with great reſiſtance from bravery: however the Moors were repulſed, and the whole army of Chriſtians got over. The king of Portugal marched on the left, along the hills, he of Caſtile taking a circuit by the ſhore, fell furiouſly on the enemy. Both ſides rent the heavens with their cries, and being come to manual ſtrokes, ſtood their ground without giving way, the generals cauſing the ſtandards to be advanced, where there was the greateſt danger. Certain bands of Chriſtians, through by-ways, got to the enemies camp, which they plundered, having ſlain thoſe that were left to guard it. They that fought, underſtanding what had happened, were diſmayed, and ſoon after fled. A mighty ſlaughter of them was made, and a vaſt number taken; the Chriſtians muſt alſo have ſuſtained a proportionable loſs, having to engage ſo great a multitude.

The routed Moors fled to Algezira, and there fearing a ſiege, the king of Granada withdrew to Marbella, Alboacen to Gibraltar,

and

and that ſame night ſailed over into Africa, fearing leſt his ſon Abderhamen, hearing of his defeat, ſhould rebel againſt him. In this battle, Fatima, daughter to the king of Tunez, Alboacen's chief wife, and three other of his wives, as alſo his ſon Abohamar, were taken: two other ſons of his were killed. In the Mooriſh camp vaſt riches were found of all ſorts, but particularly, ſo much gold and ſilver, that it cauſed the value of money to fall in Spain, and all commodities to riſe. Our victorious kings returned at night to the camp: thoſe that purſued the enemy came back, tired with killing, and ſuch as loved profit more than honour, laden with plunder. Next day they furniſhed Tarifa with all neceſſaries, and ordered the breaches to be repaired. It had been expedient in that conſternation of the Moors, to beſiege Algezira, but the army being unprovided for a ſiege, proviſions growing ſcarce, and winter drawing on, they returned to Seville: there they were received in triumph, and great rejoicing was throughout all Spain, with public thankſgivings. Great preparations were now making to drive the Moors out of all the country: and at the beginning of the year one thouſand three hundred and forty-one, the army having rendezvouſed at Cordova, entered the kingdom of Granada. Some ſhips were ſent laden with proviſions to divert the enemy, as though deſigned to beſiege Malaga.

The Moors ſupplied that place with all neceſſaries, and the king on a ſudden ſat down before Alcalá la Real, which ſurrendered. After this, ſeveral other towns ſurrendered. Then the army was ſent into winter quarters, leaving ſufficient garriſons upon the frontiers.

All the king's thoughts were fixed upon beſieging Algezira, and raiſing money: and the people agreed to the propoſals: encouraged to grant the duty, by the news brought that the Moors had been defeated by ſea.

At Ceuta, there were eighty-three gallies in order to renew the war; and twelve more in the port of Bullon: theſe laſt were de-

ſtroyed: afterwards the whole fleet of the infidels was overthrown at the mouth of the river, on the Straits of Gibraltar, called Guadameçil; after a very bloody engagement twenty-five gallies were taken and ſunk, and both the admirals of Africa and Granada killed.

The gallies of Arragon were not in the action, but they fell in with thirteen gallies of the Moors, laden with proviſions, near Eſtapona, about four leagues from Gibraltar; took four, ſunk two, and the reſt reached Africa. Both ſea and land favoured the Chriſtians.

The late ſucceſſes made all things appear eaſy. The Spaniſh fleet was lying in the port of Xatarez, near Tarifa. Thither the king of Caſtile went to take a view of Algezira by ſea; and laid his plan to take that fortreſs, as I have already related in the foregoing ſheets.

Algezira, Tarifa, Gibraltar, and Malaga, were the inlets for the Moors into Spain; and conſequently the ſame ſpirit to defend either of thoſe places as to beſiege, reigned reciprocally in each others breaſt alternately, as the chance of war ſituated thoſe towns; and more particularly at the declenſion of the Moors in Spain: for before, they did not always keep ſo ſufficient a garriſon as they ought; for I find in the reign of D. Alphonſo, the tenth of that name, king of Caſtile, took among other towns Algezira (9), but Mariana does not ſay how; however, to prevent the inquiſitive reader the trouble of ſearching volumes, I muſt obſerve, that I cannot find in any author the particulars of this ſiege, which Mariana places in twelve hundred and fifty-nine: if ſo, the Chriſtians muſt have ſoon loſt that place: for in one thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-five the king of Granada delivered both Algezira and Tarifa as cautionary towns to Jacob Aben Joſeph, king of Morocco, who landed at the head of ſeventeen thouſand

(9) Hiſt. Spain, B. XIII. c. vi. p. 213.

horſe,

horſe, and a vaſt number of foot: and that in one thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-ſeven, the king of Morocco built another Algezira not far from the former, as ſome ſay (1): here Mariana ſeems diffident, as he can't account for the ſite or ruins of the ſecond town, making no further mention of it: which is too often the caſe with geographers, in deſcribing places they have never ſeen; I clear it up in this manner: there is a ſmall rivulet, that turns a mill about a mile back from the bay, towards the high mountains that are partly bare, with deep hollows, clothed with vaſt trees of cork, a ſpecies of oak, this brook, from the feet of theſe mountains, glides to Algezira; and to ſleep on or near its banks, is deemed exceſſive unwholeſome, as the natives aſſured, by reaſon of the vaſt exhalations from the great attractive ſolar heat, which is very powerful here, baſking, from its riſing to almoſt its ſetting, on theſe branches of the Oreſpeda, a branch of the Pyreneans. Theſe exhalations not having power to mount over theſe hills, condenſe with the evening's chill, and fall heavy upon its priſtine bed; and this accounts for the great ſickneſs the beſiegers ſuffered, as I have already related. Upon one ſide of this rivulet, the Moors built a town, or caſtle, as people call it; and at this time the other was built, for they were two diſtant towns ſeparated by the brook.

I alſo find, that king Alphonſo the tenth of Caſtile, going from Burgos (2), and paſſing through the country of Leon, took his way to Seville, intending to wage war with the Moors, ſo that in one thouſand two hundred and ſeventy-eight he laid ſiege to Algezira; which contained at that time but a very ſmall garriſon of the miramamolins of Africa; his ſon D. Pedro had the chief direction of the ſiege; but notwithſtanding the place was preſſed very hard both by ſea and land, yet the Chriſtians were not able to take it; and therefore had their labour for their pains: for the

(1) Book xiv. c. ii. p. 220. (2) Turquet. Hiſt. Spain, B. xii. p. 414.

army

army at ſea was, in a manner, loſt by the ambuſhes of the Moors, who victualled the place; and as for that on land, there died ſo great a number of men, that they were forced to raiſe the ſiege, for the king of Morocco was upon his paſſage, and arrived at Algezira, where truce was revived, not comprehending the king of Granada, who fortified the city of Granada that year, and there made that famous fort, called the Alhambra, as ſtately a building as any in Spain. The captain of Malaga alſo revolted, and went under the protection of the king of Caſtile, and built two forts which defended that city, called Alcacava, and Gebralfaro.

Moſt of the rivers in Spain begin with Guada, which in Arabic, the language of the Moors, is river: Guadalquivir is pronounced in the Spaniſh tongue, Wadalkebeer, in Arabic, Weit el kibeer, which ſignifies the great river, anciently called the Bætis, Weit, or Weid, being no more than river.

Guadalajara, or Guadalaxara, pronounced in Spaniſh, Wadalakhara; in Arabic, Weit el Hadjar, the ſorry river: Jarra and Jarro: Xarra and Xarro, as written in Spaniſh, and pronounced in that language Kharra and Kharro, which, in Engliſh, ſignifies a jar or pitcher, pronounced by the Moors Jarra and Jarro.

Guadaladiar, in Spaniſh, Wadalidiar; in Arabic, Weit el deyer, the river of houſes.

Guadalcacar, in Spaniſh, pronounced Wadalcaſſar; in Arabic, Weit el caſſur, the river of palaces.

Guadalete, Wadalete, Weit Lethe, the river of Lethe, anciently ſo called.

Guadalimar, Wadalimar, Weit el hamar, the red river, anciently Salſus.

Guadalmedina, Wadalmedina, Weit el Medina, the river of the city.

Guadalquiton, Wadalkiton, Weit el Gutta, or rather Weit el Kotton, there being rivers of that name in Aſia and Africa; the

the river of the cat, if the firſt; if the other, the river of cotton.

Guadazuléma, Wadaſulema, Weit Suliman, Solomon's river.

Guadiaro, the river of houſes, and Guadaranque at Carteia in Gibraltar bay, the river of mares; the former ſo called on account of the many dwellings once upon its pleaſant banks; and the latter on account of the many mares upon its paſture, when the Moors invaded Spain.

Spain, as Mariana juſtly obſerves, has few rivers, and leſs lakes; and indeed but few rivers any ways navigable, but for boats.

CHAP. VII.

SPAIN'S ANTIQUITY, LANGUAGE, PEOPLE; OF GERYON, HERCULES, AND OTHERS; OF THE ANTIQUITY OF AFRICA; THE PILLARS OF HERCULES, ETC.

I MUST carry my reader back again, to the remote antiquities of the Spaniards: the Celtiberi (1), a great part of the Spaniards, came from the Celtæ, but ſuppoſed later: for it is credible, that anciently the Iberi themſelves were deſcended of the Celtæ, the Vaſcones perhaps excepted, and the people of affinity with them: for the language of the Vaſcones is ſaid to differ ſurpriſingly from all the European languages, nor is there any other found, to which it has an affinity. Shall we, ſays this book, ſay, that Spain was inhabited by a colony of Africans before the arrival of the Celtæ, and that the Vaſcones were the remains of them? or rather that ſome ancient nation of a former migration (before the arrival of the nations from which ſprung the Celtæ, that is, the Germans and Gauls) poſſeſſed not only Spain, but Aquitain, and all the neighbouring parts; and this is favoured by the common

(1) Acta Germanica, or Literary Memoirs.

names

names of rivers. Cæſar has diſtinguiſhed three Gauls, viz. the Aquitanic, Celtic, and Belgic, where it appears, that the name Celtæ is taken in the ſtricteſt ſenſe; and I ſhould think, continues this author, that it properly agreed to the inhabitants of the Celtic Gaul, and afterwards taken in ſo large a ſenſe by the Greeks that went partly to Marſeilles, and partly to the Iſter, that upon obſerving a certain ſimilitude in their manners and language, it comprized all the weſt, which was unknown to the Ancients: for formerly the Greeks called the weſtern people, whom they knew not, Celtæ; the northern, Scythians; the eaſtern, Indians; the ſouthern, Ethiopians, denominating the remoter people from the nearer: and Herodotus has ſufficiently ſhewn, (though he varies from himſelf) that the Scythians were a peculiar, and no very extenſive nation, which gave name to the nations of that tract, and was no leſs unknown to the Greeks in Homer's time than was that of the Celtæ.

When the Tyrian Hercules came into Spain, about the days of Abraham, he found the country about the Straits' mouth inhabited, he landed there, and killed the three Geryons.

Geryon and his followers moſt probably croſſed over the narrow Straits from Ceuta to Spain, in ſmall barks: for Geryon is, as much as to ſay, a ſtranger (2). He is ſaid to have been a wicked and vicious man, and that he came out of Africa into Spain (3), and that his name in the Chaldean tongue ſignifies a ſtranger, and with him went others. This Geryon was the father of thoſe three that the Phœnician Hercules ſlew.

Mariana (4) tells us, that Geryon was the firſt that may be accounted king of Spain, and of whom much mention is made by the Greek and Latin authors: he was no native, for Geryon in the Chaldean language ſignifies a ſtranger; and that he is ſaid to have built a fort near Cadiz, called Gerunda: that he was killed by

(2) Richer's Abridg. Hiſt. Spain, p. 7. (3) Em. Fa. y Suſa's Hiſt. Port. p. 4. (4) Book 1. chap. iii. p. 6, 7.

Oſiris

Oſiris the Egyptian, and buried near the mouth of the Straits: that after this, Hercules came into Spain, and drove the Geryons into the iſland of Cadiz, where they fortified themſelves: that he fought the three Geryons and ſlew them: that their bodies were buried upon that iſland, and from thence forward it was called Erythræa by ſome people that came with Hercules from the red ſea, who, with the approbation of their general Hercules, planted there.

After theſe things, Hercules died, and was buried in the Gadirian iſle. He was a great navigator, and being a Tyrian, was probably the firſt that made long voyages; for as Tibullus ſays,

Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyrus;

Tyre firſt taught to entruſt a ſhip to the boiſterous winds. The Tyrians were great merchants, navigators, and planters of endleſs colonies in foreign parts: as they were merchants, they may be ſaid to have engroſſed all the commerce of the weſtern world, at leaſt (5) as navigators, they were the boldeſt, and moſt experienced, and greateſt diſcoverers of the ancient times: they had, for many ages, no rivals: and as they were planters of colonies, they did ſo much that way, that, when it is remembered, that their country was probably little more than the ſlip of ground between mount Libanus and the ſea, it is ſurpriſing how they could furniſh ſuch ſupplies of people, and not wholly depopulate their native country. They were the moſt induſtrious and enterprizing people, that can well be conceived.

Africa was peopled in the moſt early ages, I do ſuppoſe before Spain, both Atlas and Antæus reigned in the weſtern parts of Africa, before Geryon's deſcent; and there are authors who ſay, that one of the three firſt cities in the world was Sebta (or Ceuta) (6) a maritime town in Africa (on the coaſt of Barbary)

(5) Univ. Hiſt. Vol. II. Book I. c. vi. p. 348. (6) Idem, Vol. I. Book I. c. ii. p. 277. n. Z.

Salernum in Italy, and Salem in Judea. There are ruins of two ancient towns now to be ſeen at, or very near to Ceuta; the walls of one with many ſquare towers, incircle the higheſt mountain of Ceuta, and within this ruin, upon the ſummit of the hill, the Spaniards have a ſignal houſe, and a guard houſe a little below to relieve the ſignal centinel.

The other town, which ſeems to be the moſt ancient, is in Barbary, by the Moors intrenchments before Ceuta; between mountains, moſt of the old walls and towers may be traced, and this I take to be the town, which is imagined to be one of the three firſt in the world.

Beſides, the country of Spain took its name from the Phœnicians, who, upon their landing, ſaw a vaſt quantity of rabbits, which they took for a ſmall quadruped (7) of their own land called Spaneja, reſembling a rabbit. Spain produced ſuch multitudes, that that animal was accounted peculiar to that country. Catullus gives the epithet Cuniculoſa to Celtiberia, and the Baleric iſles adjoinining were ſo much infeſted with that vermin, that they ſued to Auguſtus for ſoldiers to deſtroy them.

Mr. Addiſon gives us, in his third ſeries, a reverſe of the emperor Adrian: a female figure ſitting on the ground, in her right hand ſhe holds a ſprig of olive, her left arm is on a rock, her garment on her lap repreſents the Tagus, and the rabbit ſits upon her foot; the Legend Hiſpania, and s. c. in exergue. The learned medalliſts, ſays this gentleman, tell us the rabbit, which you ſee before her feet, may ſignify either the great multitude of theſe animals, that are found in Spain, or perhaps the ſeveral mines that are wrought within the bowels of that country, the Latin word cuniculus ſignifying either a rabbit or a mine: but theſe gentlemen do not conſider, that it is not the word, but the figure that appears on the medal: cuniculus may ſtand for a

(7) Univ. Hiſt. and Sammes's Britannia.

rabbit

rabbit or a mine, but the picture of a rabbit is not the picture of a mine: a pun can be no more engraven than it can be tranſlated. When the word is conſtrued into its idea, the double meaning vaniſhes: the figure therefore means a real rabbit, which is there found in vaſt multitudes.

Cuniculoſæ Celtiberiæ fili. Catul. in Egnatium.

The olive-branch tells us, it is a country that abounds in olives, as it is for this reaſon that Claudian, in his deſcription of Spain, binds an olive-branch about her head.

Thus Spain, whoſe brows the olive wreath infold,
And o'er her robe a Tagus ſtreams in gold.

Martial has given us the like figure of one of the greateſt rivers in Spain.

Fair Bætis! olives wreath thy azure locks;
In fleecy gold thou cloth'ſt the neighb'ring flocks:
Thy fruitful banks with rival bounty ſmile,
While Bacchus wine beſtows, and Pallas oil.

The pillars of Hercules, in the days of that hero, were two of ſtones, the ſame as at Tyre; for Hercules ordered that famous city to be built, where the Petræ Ambroſiæ ſtood, which were two moveable rocks, ſtanding by an olive tree. He uſed to ſacrifice on them, implying that they ſhould become fixed and ſtable: rather, ſays Dr. Stukeley, that the city ſhould be built with happy auſpices, and become permanent.

Here are our main ambres made artfully moveable, a kind of altars, or pillars, the ſame as the pillars of Hercules ſo famed, and as little underſtood: they were the original patriarchal altars for libations and ſacrifices, and mean in general their altars, whether moveable or immoveable: or, as we may ſpeak, continues this learned antiquarian, their temples, which imply an

altar properly incloſed with ſtones and a ditch, or ground dedicated, and ſet apart for public celebration of religious rites: for the word ambroſius means in general, conſecrated, dedicated to religious uſe.

Beſides the Petræ Ambroſiæ of Tyre, and our main ambres of Britain and Ireland, we meet with others: now, the main ambres, or Petræ Ambroſiæ, ſignified the ſtones anointed with holy oil, the oil of roſes, conſecrated; or, in a general ſenſe, a temple, altar, or place of worſhip.

The pillars, then, were on a religious account; patriarchal, as that of Jacob's: and Moſes's altar, with twelve pillars ſet round it, &c. &c. &c.

The Tyrian Hercules, who built and ſet up the Petræ Ambroſiæ, lived as early as the time of Jacob's anointing the ſtone at Bethel. The great Bochart, who penetrated very deep into the Phœnician learning, looks upon it as a clear matter, that in Joſhua's time, the Phœnicians ſent innumerable colonies into the Mediterranean coaſts, and even to the ocean. In his preface to his admirable work Canaan, he ſays, "He has a great ſuſpicion, "that colonies went abroad this way before that time: particu- "larly he aſſerts, that Hercules in Euſebius, ſirnamed Deſanus, "who was famous in Phœnicia before the Exodus, is the ſame, "who conquered Antæus in Africa: which in Euſebius is ſet fifty- "ſix years before: he is called Hercules primus, and that is ſixty- "three years before the Exodus, in Euſebius's chronology." Again, he judges it to be two thouſand years diſtance between the later Roman times, and the firſt Hercules: now from Conſtantine the Great, two thouſand years carry us up to Jacob's time: and he proves from Ariſtotle de Mirabilibus, that Hercules built Utica in Africa, at that time, wherein Euſebius ſays, he was famous in Phœnicia, and this muſt be when Hercules was old, he having conquered Antæus in that country, when he was young.

Let

Let it ſuffice, that he lived about Abraham's days, that he founded Carteia in Gibraltar bay; that afterwards he erected the two pillars on the iſle of Cales; and there eſtabliſhed the patriarchal religion: and thoſe were the pillars of Hercules, and his Ne plus ultra. The Greeks and Latins in after ages, not underſtanding the meaning of thoſe pillars, and being ſtrangers to the primitive tenets of the Phœnician religion, invented the fabulous ſtory of Calpe and Abyla.

Oſiris, the Egyptian, defeated Geryon's forces, who not long before croſſed over from Africa into Spain; he ſlew him in the battle fought near Tarifa, and was the firſt battle in Spain, or I believe in Europe. The old Geryon was buried in the iſle Gadira: and years after this, Hercules was buried there alſo, long after he had killed the three brothers, ſons of the old Geryon: for between that exploit and his death, he eſtabliſhed the mart at Gadira, for Tyre and the Barac-Anacks receiving there the commodities of Britain and the eaſt.

The temple of Hercules was built long after his death, covered and incloſing the pillars within the walls, in imitation of Tyre. Temples originally were pillars, altars, and circles of ſtones, as at Stone-henge (8), &c. &c. &c.

I think the great king Hiram was the firſt of the Tyrians, who cloſed their temples; yet he, in the temple of the Olympian Jupiter, dedicated a golden pillar to Jupiter. He alſo built two temples, one to Hercules, and another to Aſtarte, and beautified them with rich donatives. Hiram was rather a religious prince, than a warlike one. He died in one thouſand and twelve before Chriſt, after a reign of thirty-four years.

After this, Pygmalion ſent to the temple of Hercules, ſtanding in the iſland of Gades, a rich donative, being the figure of an olive-tree of maſſy gold, and of moſt exquiſite and curious work-

(8) Vid. Stukeley. Cook. Norden. Borlaſe. Camden. &c. &c. &c.

manſhip,

manſhip, its berries, which were of emerald, bearing a wonderful reſemblance with the natural fruit of that tree (9).

Hercules, or Melcartus, was the great and ancient god of Tyre: they anciently repreſented him in no form: his temple had no images in it, a ſeeming undeniable inſtance of his great antiquity. However, they deviated afterwards from this laudable cuſtom.

The Gadirans had hardly fallen into idolatry in Hiram's reign; but after this, they ſunk apace: for in this temple, they had the twelve labours of Hercules, the Hydra, and Diomedes's horſes; with the golden belt of Teucer, and the golden olive of Pygmalion, bearing Smaragdine fruit, and by theſe conſecrated gifts of Teucer, king of Troy, and Pygmalion, king of Tyre, you may know that it was built in their days, ſays Sir Iſaac Newton.

The Carthaginians paid tenths to Hercules, and ſent their payments yearly to Tyre.

In Solomon's time, Erythræa, and the country of Geryon were without the Mediterranean; therefore the Erythræan, or Gadirian iſle, was peopled by Erythræans or Edomites before Solomon's time, perhaps when David diſperſed the Edomites.

Hercules, called Melicartus, was king, prince, governour, or rather founder of Carteia, and had the temple of Gadira conſecrated to him after Hiram's days, and was worſhipped after and according to the rites and ceremonies of the ancient people of Tyre.

The worſhip of Hercules was carried to Gades by Dido.

After the death of Antæus, a Phœnician colony was ſettled at Tangiers, or ancient Tingis.

Hercules landing in the Scilly iſles and Cornwall, was the firſt that diſcovered the tin, and ſettled a colony and trade to the Gadirian iſle.

(9) Univ. Hiſt. Vol. II. Book I. c. V. p. 371.

He

He was worſhipped, after his death, in Gaul, Britain, and Germany, by the name of Ogmius and Heſus. He built ſeveral cities on the Straits. Carteia was, I believe, the moſt ancient in Europe, and called Heraclea, in honour to the founder; and Calpe Carteia, on account of its proximity to Mons Calpe.

Neptune was alſo a tutelar deity of Carteia, and called Equeſtris: for horſes originally came from Libya.

Hercules was a man of a very extraordinary genius, and of great piety: therefore, wherever he went, he ſet up patriarchal temples, pillars of ſtone, the ſame as the patriarchal families did in the land of Canaan. In ſhort, our hero truly ſo called, was a true believer, and eſtabliſhed the worſhip of the ever living God whereever he ſojourned, making it his buſineſs to check proud tyrants, by deſtroying thoſe he found, taking their country under his immediate care and protection; clearing the lands of monſtrous idolatries, and ſetting up his pillars for pure libations, as the Ne plus ultra of all religion then upon the earth, being a folly to go beyond thoſe pillars in ſearch of new doctrines, or new gods.

He carried with him the arts, ſciences, and induſtry; he had with him the compaſs-box, which enabled him to ſail upon the great ocean, which was the ſea-concha, or ſhell of Lucian. The cup lent him by Oceanus of Piſander: the golden cup given him by Sol: ſo the learned Dr. Gale. The cup of Nereus, ſon of Sol, which Hercules begged, and ſailed to Erythræa, by Panyaſis, by Macrobius, by Theoclytus in Athenæus, by Pherecydes, by Servius, by Alexander Epheſius, the Lapis Heraclius. For this, and other of his great actions, the Phœnicians and almoſt all other nations deified and worſhipped him after his death; and among the many oracles in Egypt, one was of Hercules.

Crediting the Phœnician hiſtory, and allowing Cronus to have been Ham, the deſire of rule began to make havock in the world, even during the life time of Noah, who was driven out of his ſettlement,

tlement, and at laſt ſlain by his rebellious ſon, as is recorded in the hiſtory of Sanchoniatho.

Uranus, who was Noah, ſucceeded his father Elium in the kingdom: he had by his ſiſter, whoſe name was Ge, four ſons, Ilus or Cronus, who was Ham; ſecond, Betylus; third, Dagon, or Siton; fourth, Atlas; beſides much iſſue by other wives: wherefore Ge being grieved at it, and jealous, reproached Uranus (Noah) ſo that they parted from each other: but Uranus, though he parted from her, yet by force invaded her, and lying with her when he would, went away again; and he alſo attempted to kill the children he had by her. Ge alſo defended, or avenged herſelf, gathering auxiliary powers unto her.

But when Cronus, (Ham) the ſon of Ge, ſiſter and wife of Uranus (Noah) came to man's age, uſing Hermes Triſmegiſtus as his counſellor and aſſiſtant (for he was his ſecretary) he oppoſed his father Uranus, avenging the wrongs of his mother: but Cronus had children, Perſephone (Proſerpine), and Athena (Minerva); the former died a virgin, but by the council of Athena and of Hermes, Cronus made of iron a ſcymitar and a ſpear.

Then Hermes ſpeaking to the aſſiſtance of Cronus with inchanting words, wrought in them a keen deſire of fighting againſt Uranus in behalf of the injured wife Ge, Cronus's mother.

Cronus then warred againſt Uranus, and drove him out of his kingdom, and ſucceeded him in the imperial power, or office.

In the fight was taken a well-beloved concubine of Uranus, big with child. This concubine Cronus gave in marriage to Dagon, after which, ſhe brought forth, at his houſe, what ſhe had in her womb by Uranus, and called the infant Demaroon.

After theſe things, Cronus builds a wall round about his houſe, and founds Byblus, the firſt city in Phœnicia, i. e. the firſt city of Phœnice built either with maſonry or brick: for Tyre had inhabitants before this time, who lived in huts and tents.

At

At length, when the child Demaroon grew to the age of man, he had a ſon born to him, who was the Melacartus, who is called Hercules, whoſe temple at Gadira or Gades had no images in it, and continued ſo to the time of Silius Italicus.

He was the great and ancient god of Tyre; he was called Melcartus, as has been already ſaid, from Melec-cartha, the king of the ancient city of Carteia (Heraclea, or Calpe Carteia) near Mount Calpe: and Sir Iſaac Newton derives his name from Melec, king, and Cartha, the city; i. e. of Carteia in Spain.

He was anciently repreſented in no form; neither had his temple at Gades any images in it, a ſeeming undeniable inſtance of his great antiquity: however, they deviated from this laudable cuſtom.

Although no ſtatues were in the temple at Gadira, either to the Egyptian or Tyrian Hercules, for they were both worſhipped in the ſame temple, as we are informed from Philoſtratus, who ſays, there were only two plain brazen altars erected to the Egyptian Hercules.

But though the gods were unrepreſented, their temple was adorned with the twelve labours of Hercules (as they are commonly called;) finely wrought, the Hydra, and Diomedes's horſe. In this temple were alſo kept the golden belt of Teucer, and the golden olive of Pygmalion, bearing Smaragdine fruit of wonderful workmanſhip.

Great honours were paid to him, and his worſhip was performed with great ſolemnity. Silius Italicus (1) ſays, the worſhip to Hercules was performed with great ſolemnity, the aſſiſtants were clad alike in Egyptian linen, they offered incenſe to him with a looſe flowing garment, and the prieſtly veſt was adorned with red ſtreaks or ſtripes of purple.

(1) Lib. III.

The Calpeian mountain, and bay of Gibraltar, were not only known, but alſo frequented ſo early as the days of Abraham; and Carteia in the bottom of that bay, and on the bank of the ſmall river Guadaranque, was the ancient port, built by the Phœnicians, who were Canaanites by deſcent. This port was, if Hercules was king of that city, prince, or founder, as Sir Iſaac Newton conjectured, more ancient than Cadiz: and the bay of Gibraltar has ever been famous, from the earlieſt account of time, for its friendly aid to all veſſels either going up the Mediterranean, or into the Atlantic ocean; and is in fact the key to the former. It muſt be remembered, that the dwellers of this part of Spain are to look to thoſe of the honourable profeſſion of arms as their founders and inhabitants, from Hercules downwards: or if you will, the three Geryons, whom he ſlew. The Phœnician adventurers were ſoldiers, the Carthaginians the ſame, and the Roman colony planted in Carteia, were from Roman ſoldiers, and Spaniſh mothers, i. e. Carteians, Carthaginians, or the remains of the Baſtulians, Lybians, the Phœnicians. The Goths were ſoldiers, and the Moors who built Algezira and Gibraltar from the materials of the demoliſhed city of Carteia, were alſo military men, who had juſt conquered almoſt all Spain in an amazing ſhort ſpace of time. When Algezira was wreſted out of their hands, Alonzo gave that town and the adjacent country to his ſoldiers, as a reward for their gallant behaviour, and perſevering ſervices, in the reduction of that ſtrong city, as has been above related. The Spaniards have ever ſince kept poſſeſſion of that place; which at preſent makes but a ſorry appearance. After Gibraltar was taken by the Engliſh, the Spaniards built the town of St. Roca, a military ſtation, and the head quarters of the Spaniſh commanders for that diſtrict: and every one knows, that the fortreſs of Gibraltar, principally conſiſts of military men, as ſhall be further explained in the courſe of this work.

It

It is certain, that this country of Spain, and more particularly this very part of it on the Straits' mouth, was not only excellently ſituated for trade and commerce, but alſo abounded with ſuch commodities, eſpecially ſilver, and more particularly in this province of Andaluſia, as invited all the trading nations of Europe, Aſia, and Africa, to come thither for them, to ſettle among them, and even to ſubdue them, inſomuch that ſcarce any kingdom under heaven ever paſſed through ſo many different kingdoms as this, as the Mauruſians, Phœnicians, Tyrians, Egyptians, Carthaginians, Greeks, Romans, Gauls, Germans, Goths, Vandals, Moors, and many others have had their particular ſettlements in it, or at leaſt ſome conſiderable ſhare of it, under their ſubjection, promoted the trade and navigation of it, founded great and opulent cities, and contributed towards the enriching of it.

From what I am able to judge of its very ancient ſtate, I conclude upon the whole, that the Geryons, after their father had been defeated by Antæus in Africa, to have been the firſt inhabitants, with ſome Mauruſian followers, the deſcendents from the line of Ham, the progenitor of the Canaanites: and, that after Hercules had defeated Antæus, he landed with his Phœnicians, overcame the Geryons, and built Carteia, and ſailed to Gadira, now Cadiz: ſo that I give no attention to the fabulous line of princes given by Beroſus, who muſt not be credited, in his long liſt, from Tubal, the grandſon of Noah, down to Geryon; but here I think we may digreſs, as there are many corroborating circumſtances to favour my opinion.

The reverend Dr. Clarke gives us very judicious remarks of the marquis de Mondecar upon the Spaniſh hiſtorians, which, ſays he, are new, and not commonly to be met with, and from which he gives the following extract (2).

(2) Clarke's Spaniſh Nation. Hiſtorical Introduction.

" The Roman empire in this country laſted ſomething more " than four hundred years after the commencement of the Chriſ- " tian æra: but the Spaniſh hiſtory is connected with the Roman " for near ſix hundred, till that empire was utterly extinct. The " Goths entered about the year four hundred: Himeric, with the " Suevi and Alans, conquered Galicia about the year four hun- " dred and eight. Theſe Suevi, who gave name to Galicia, ſub- " dued Portugal about four hundred and ſixty-four. Requina, " the ſon of Himeric, conquered Biſcay, Andaluſia, and took Sa- " ragoſa and Tarragona in four hundred and eighty-eight. Re- " caredo was king of Spain in five hundred and eighty-ſeven, " and called a cortes, at which, prelates, as well as ſecular lords, " aſſiſted, and granted aids to the crown. After him came Wit- " teric, to whom ſucceeded Gundemar, in ſix hundred and ten. " In ſix hundred and thirty-one, Siſenando was choſen king, who " called a cortes at Toledo."

The Moors entered Spain about the year ſix hundred and eighty, conſequently the Gothic government did not laſt three hundred years. Tarif Abenzarca came in ſeven hundred and thirteen.

The three moſt principal northern nations which came here, were the Vandals, from whom the province of Andaluſia received its name; theſe went afterwards into Africa. The Suevi, who remained long in Galicia, and the Goths, who conquered the whole country, and held it upwards of two hundred years. The Goths poſſeſſed the whole continent of Spain, Mauritania, Africa, and Gallia Gothica, or that part of France which is now corruptly called Languedoc: but in their turn they gave place to the Moors and Arabs, whoſe dominion ceaſed, when Pelayo was eſtabliſhed in his throne. The Moors conquered all Spain, except thoſe mountainous parts, whither ſome bodies of reſolute Chriſtians fled for refuge. They by degrees planned and concerted meaſures to

ſhake

ſhake off the Arabic yoke. The firſt ſtand that was made againſt them, was made by the mountaineers of Aſturias, who elected king the infant don Pelayo, ſwearing the nobles over a ſhield, and crying out real! real!

This Pelayo was a Gothic prince by birth, ſo that he in ſome meaſure reſtored again the Gothic monarchy: he recovered Gijon and Leon; and his ſon got poſſeſſion of part of Portugal, and all Galicia. From this recovery of Leon came the race of the kings of Oviedo and Leon. The boldneſs and ſucceſs of theſe Chriſtians alarmed the Arabs, they attacked them in their different ſtrongholds, in order to cut off their communications one with another: but this produced a very different effect from what they expected. The Chriſtians, to repel the danger that threatened them on every ſide at the ſame time, choſe different heads in different places, who being ſeparate one from the other in their governments, defended their ſubjects independently on one another. This neceſſary reſolution gave riſe to the different kingdoms in Spain. Such then was their undoubted origin, though it is impoſſible to ſay at what exact period each kingdom roſe, as there are no ancient monuments remaining ſufficient to prove that point.

The firſt kingdom or monarchy that roſe, after the Mooriſh invaſion, was that, as we have ſaid, of don Pelayo in the Aſturias, an elective monarchy: and in proportion as the Aſturian princes diſlodged the pagans of thoſe lands and territories that were neareſt to them, they changed the ſtile of their titles, being firſt called kings of Aſturias, then of Oviedo, and laſtly of Leon and Galicia, until they were incorporated with the kings of Caſtile by the marriage of queen donna Sancha Iſabella, ſiſter of king don Bermudo the third, its laſt prince, both of them deſcendents of king don Alonzo the fifth, who married the daughter of Ferdinand the great, to whom ſome give the title of emperour, and who was firſt king of Caſtile.

Of

Of this long period, in which the Chriſtian princes gained ſuch glorious ſucceſſes, and ſingular victories over the infidels there are ſome ſhort and obſcure accounts in the little chronicles of don Alonzo the third, king of Leon, ſurnamed the Great, and of Alveda, of Sampiro, and of don Pelayo.

COUNTS AND KINGS OF CASTILE.

At the ſame time with theſe Aſturian princes, aroſe many nobles, who ſigned their deeds and inſtruments with the titles of counts or princes, and among others, thoſe of Caſtile, which ſtate arrived at ſovereignty in the time of the great count Fernan Gonzalez, by his heroic valour, glorious triumphs, and extended power. The moſt diſtinguiſhed prince of this houſe was don Sancho Garcia, whoſe violent death was the cauſe why this houſe united itſelf to the crown of Arragon and Navarre, by the marriage of the princeſs donna Sancha his ſiſter, with the king don Sancho Mayor, whoſe ſecond ſon don Fernando raiſed Caſtile into a kingdom. Caſtile afterwards became an hereditary crown in his lineage, in preference to all the other kingdoms, although inferior in origin to Arragon and Navarre.

The ſeries and chronology of the ſeveral counts is much conteſted between the Spaniſh writers, Arredondo, Arevalo, Sandoval, and others: a diſpute not worth our entering into, ſince it is certain, that from the bravery, ſucceſs, and power, with which don Fernando extended his dominion, ſo as to be ſtiled firſt king of Caſtile, his kingdom became ſo famous, that all the Mooriſh princes acknowledged him for their ſovereign. His ſon was don Alonzo the ſixth, his grand-daughter was the queen donna Urraca, with whom ended the barony of Navarre: the crown of Caſtile falling back again into the houſe of the counts of Burgundy (who came from the kings of Italy) by her marriage with the count don Raymund, her firſt huſband; from which match came their ſon the great emperour don Alonzo the ſeventh.

This

This prince left his eſtates divided between his two ſons: to don Sancho the eldeſt, whoſe great virtues and untimely death gained him the name of the Regretted, he left the kingdoms of Caſtile, and part of Leon: and to don Ferdinand the ſecond, the reſt of Leon, Galicia, and Aſturias. He took upon himſelf the title of king of Spain, pretending, that the primogeniture of the Goths, which was re-eſtabliſhed in Pelayo, centered in himſelf.

Don Sancho dying, he was ſucceeded by don Alonzo the Noble, one of the greateſt princes of his time. It was he, who gained the famous battle of the plains of Toloſa over the Moors, deſtroying two hundred thouſand of them at one time. He dying without iſſue male, the two kingdoms of Caſtile and Toledo went to donna Berenguela, his eldeſt daughter.

Although the royal barony of Burgundy ended in the queen donna Berenguela, it returned and united with the kingdom of Leon, Galicia, and Aſturias by the marriage of king don Alonzo her uncle, (who ſucceeded in thoſe kingdoms to king Fernando, brother to king don Alonzo the Noble, her grandfather) from which match came king Sn. Fernando, from whom deſcended, without interruption, the kings of Caſtile and Arragon; and until united in Ferdinand and Iſabella, they relapſed into the auguſt houſe of Auſtria, by the marriage of the queen donna Juana, their eldeſt daughter, to the archduke don Philip the firſt, from which great union ſprung the emperor Charles the fifth.

From this period downward, the Spaniſh hiſtory is very connectedly written, and well known.

This part of Spain is ſurrounded by the Mediterranean, the Sinus Gaditanus, or bay Gadez; the Fretum Herculeum, or Straits of Gibraltar; and the ſouthernmoſt point in Spain, is that of Tarifa in 50° 50′ north latitude.

The generality of the Greek writers call Spain Ἰβηρία, Iberia, which, by the Ancients who lived before Polybius, by Iberia underſtood only that part of Spain extending from the Pyrenees to Calpe,

Calpe, or the Straits of Gibraltar, and terminated by the Mediterranean; the other part being unknown to, and conſequently going under no name amongſt the Greeks and Romans.

As the Iberus was by far the moſt conſiderable river of this tract, it might, ſay my authors, have received the denomination of Iberia from thence, as Egypt, according to ſome, did its name from the Nile, which Homer intimates to have been called Egyptus: but the true and proper Iberia, is thought to have been originally only that part of Spain called Celtiberia, from a body of Celts ſettling in it, bounded by the Iberus, the Pyrenees, and the Mediterranean; which if admitted, it is no wonder that the Phœnicians gave it the name of Iberia: for the Hebrew עבר Eber, as well as the Chaldee, Syriac, or Phœnician עברא Ebra, or Ibra, in the ſingular number, which ſignifies a paſſage, and, in the plural, bounds or limits. The Phœnicians, therefore, might either have called the moſt conſiderable river of this tract, and one of its boundaries, Eber, Iber, Ebra, &c. and from thence have ſtiled the inhabitants of it Iberians; or have denominated the tract itſelf Iberia, from its ſituation, it having been generally conſidered by them, as one of the remoteſt regions, or weſtern limits of the earth.

Spain took its name moſt probably from the Phœnician שפניה Sphanija, or Spanija, from שפן Shaphan, or Span, a rabbet, becauſe it abounded with thoſe animals. In ſupport of this notion, it may be obſerved, that, in many manuſcripts of Curtius, Juſtin, Capella, Apuleius, Julius Capitolinus, Athenæus, &c. for Hiſpania is found Spania, as is learnt from Caſaubon and Salmaſius; from the Phœnician Spanija, the Romans deduced their Spania, or Hiſpania, which appellation, as well as Iberia, in common with the Greeks, they applied to the whole continent of Spain.

When the Phœnicians firſt landed, and ſeeing ſuch vaſt numbers of rabbets, which upon the teſtimony of Ælian, Pliny, Strabo, and Varro, increaſed to ſo ſurpriſing a degree, as to do immenſe damage

damage by their burrows, they took them for the Saphan of the Phœnicians; and did from thence impoſe upon this country a name, which has ever ſince prevailed. Spain was alſo called Heſperia, and Heſperia Ultra, on account of its weſtern ſituation; however there were two Heſperias, to wit, the great which was Italy, and the leſs which was Spain, which were likewiſe diſtinguiſhed into citerior and ulterior, or the nearer and the further.

It is moſt probable, that this part of Spain was firſt peopled in this manner, a colony of Mauritanians, whom the Phœnicians found about the Straits' mouth, under the three Geryons conquered by Hercules, who built Carteia and Cadiz, as a central mart to Tyre, Sidon, and other towns in the Mediterranean, the coaſt of Africa and the Britiſh iſles, and theſe were the ancient Baſtulians. The Carthaginians, who were Phœnicians by deſcent, moſt undoubtedly ſettled along the Mediterranean, and the Straits to Cadiz, &c. The Greeks had ſome colonies in Spain, and the Romans ſettled themſelves, in proceſs of time, all over the country; their firſt diviſion, or rather that part they had reduced, was into Hiſpania Citerior, and Hiſpania Ulterior. In Auguſtus's reign, he divided Hiſpania Ulterior into two provinces, to wit, Provincia Bætica, and Luſitania. The Turditani, who were a powerful people, occupied a conſiderable part both of Luſitania and Bætica, as appears from Strabo.

It is only to the province of Bætica which I ſhall confine myſelf, and to that part particularly from Cales to Malaga: and the oppoſite coaſt of Barbary.

Hiſpania Ulterior, or Further Spain, was Bætica, ſo called from the famed river Bætis, ſince Tarteſſus, and now Gualalquiver, or the Great River; it was bounded on the ſouth by the Mediterranean, and the Sinus Gaditanus, or gulph of Gades; and on the north by the Cantabric ſea, now the ſea of Biſcay. The Bætis divided this province into two parts; on the one ſide towards the Anas, were ſituated the Turditani, from whence the country was

called Turditania, but better known by the name of Bæturia. On the other ſide, and of which I am now treating, were the Baſtuli, then the Baſtitani, and Conteſtani, along the Mediterranean coaſts, to the eaſtward.

But the Baſtuli are the people within my diſtrict; they are juſtly ſuppoſed (as I have already ſaid) to be of Phœnician or Libyan extract, and extended from the Straits of Gibraltar, along the Mediterranean coaſt to the Baſtitani, till driven from thence by the Moors, they fled into the mountainous part of Galicia, which they then called by their name Baſtulia.

This province was the moſt fertile, beſt cultivated, and pleaſanteſt of all the reſt in Spain, as Pliny writes. The Romans had four tribunals, or, as they ſtiled them, Conventus Juridici, to wit, 1. Gadez, now Cadiz; 2. Cordova; 3. Aſtigi, now Ecija; 4. Hiſpal, now Seville: they had beſides, about one hundred and thirty cities, among which nine were ſtiled colonies; eighteen municipal; twenty-nine which enjoyed the franchiſe of Latium; ſix free cities; three allied ones; and one hundred and twenty tributary (3). The four above named cities were famed for their courts of judicature: nor ſhall I mention any more of Tarteſſus, Hiſpal, Seville, the Colonia Romulenſis, and, by ſome inſcriptions, Colonia Romulea: Corduba, the aurifera terra: but muſt dwell a little on the city of Gades or Gadir, now Cadiz.

Cadiz was peopled by Phœnicians, under Melec-cartha, Hercules; after he had built Carteia, as I conjecture. I ſhall only here obſerve, that the firſt Carthaginian ſettlement in this country preceded not only the reigns of Xerxes and Darius, but even that of Cyrus himſelf. The neighbouring Spaniards, finding this city beginning to flouriſh, attacked it with all their forces, inſomuch that the inhabitants were obliged to call in the Carthaginians to their aid: for the Celtiberi had extended, by migration and

(3) Vid. Briet. Parallel. Part II. Lib. IV. c. 3.

emigration,

emigration, even to the ocean of Cadiz by this time, both of them being originally colonies from Tyre, the Carthaginians readily granted their requeſt: and furniſhing them with powerful ſuccours, not only repulſed the Spaniards, but likewiſe made themſelves maſters of almoſt the whole province, in which their new city ſtood (4), as Juſtin will have it.

It appears from the word Gadir, or Gaddir, the true Phœnician or Punic name of Cadiz, that the city received its name from the iſland on which it was ſeated; and therefore that the Tyrians were in poſſeſſion of it ſome time before they built the city, therefore the Phœnicians dwelt upon that iſland, or made uſe of the harbour, before what we now look upon as the city of Cadiz to have been built: for Gadir properly ſignifies an incloſure (5), or ſpot of ground ſeparated from all other tracts, as this iſland was by the ſea. It likewiſe denotes a fence or mound, as this iſland was doubtleſs conſidered by the Phœnicians, after their long and fatiguing voyages, againſt the rage and fury of the ſea. According to Strabo, the Tyrians firſt ſailed to this iſland a conſiderable time after Hercules was deified; and made ſeveral fruitleſs expeditions, at conſiderable diſtances of time, before they could ſettle upon it. This, in conjunction with what has been advanced by Philoſtratus, renders it highly probable, that the city was, at leaſt, of as late a foundation as ſuppoſed by theſe gentlemen.

The author of the etymologicon indeed inſinuates it to have been built by Archaleus, the ſon of Phœnic, which will carry it further back; but this ſavours ſo much of fable, that but little credit is to be given to it. We ſhall only, continue theſe authors, at preſent further obſerve, that Cadiz and Tarteſſus were frequently miſtaken for one another: of which I have ſaid enough.

(4) Diodor. Sic. 1. 5. c. i, ii. Juſtin. 1. 44. (5) Univ. Hiſt. Vol. XVII. Book IV. c. 13. p. 34. n. (E.)

Let us continue the words of the Univerſal Hiſtory; which ſays, they learn from Juſtin the firſt expedition the Carthaginians made to Spain, was in order to aſſiſt the new city of Gades above mentioned; and as the Carthaginian fleet, ſailing from Carthage to Gades, eaſily might, nay, almoſt naturally would, take Ebuſus, and the other Balearic iſlands, in its way; there is pretty good reaſon to believe, that Gades was ſuccoured, and Ebuſus, with the other Balearic iſlands, planted or reduced much about the ſame time. The particular periods, likewiſe, in which Juſtin and Diodorus have related theſe events to have happened, ſeem nearly to correſpond, which, ſay they, in ſome meaſure confirm our opinions: and that admitting this, it will follow, that the Carthaginians made their firſt deſcent in Spain about an hundred and ſixty years after the building of their city, and which they apprehend to be one of the moſt early foreign tranſactions in which they were concerned: and further, ſince Carthage was ſo potent when Gades was in its infancy, they ſuppoſe the former to have been at leaſt eighty or an hundred years older than the latter; if ſo, Dido might have founded her city not far from the time of the Trojan war, ſince, according to Velleius, Gades was built by the Tyrians about that number of years after the deſtruction of Troy: which, continues this hiſtory, is an additional argument in favour of what Sir Iſaac Newton has advanced as to the time of that deſtruction, and ſeems to carry with it an air of probability: and as to Velleius's aſſertion, that Gades was more ancient than Carthage, he is plainly refuted by Diodorus and Juſtin, and the reaſon of the thing; neither had he aſſerted this, had it not been in conſequence of an hypotheſis: that the Romans in his time generally followed the technical chronology of Eratoſthenes, ſuppoſing it to be true: Velleius finding, therefore, in ſome good author, that Gades was abſolutely affirmed to be built by the Tyrians eighty or an hundred years after the Trojan war; and by the Punic records, that

Carthage

Carthage was between two and three hundred years later than that war, according to the artificial chronology of Eratoſthenes, which he took for granted was true; he thence concluded, that Gades was older than Carthage: but that the Eratoſthenean chronology is now, by ſome very learned men, believed to have placed the deſtruction of Troy near three hundred years too high; and, if ſo, that no great ſtreſs is to be laid upon it. Velleius's authority, therefore, when he aſſerts the city of Gades to have been built about eighty or a hundred years after the Trojan war, depends upon ſome good author, as is plain, ſay they, from Juſtin compared with Virgil, Servius, Apollodorus, and the marbles; but when he makes it older than Carthage, upon the chronology of Eratoſthenes, it cannot be entirely relied upon, particularly in the point before us, as appears from Juſtin, Diodorus, and others: in the firſt caſe, therefore, it is widely different from what it is in the other. Juſtin clearly intimates, that the inhabitants of the iſland Gades had a temple there ſacred to Hercules before the city was built. So that nothing can be inferred from that temple's being erected either about, or immediately after, the time of the Trojan war, in prejudice of what has been advanced; which yet, ſay my authors, we are far from poſitively inſiſting upon as matter of fact, but only propoſe it to readers as a point deſerving further conſideration: and that, on this occaſion, it may not be improper to remind the readers, that, according to the common computation, Troy was taken the twenty-fourth day of the month Thargelion, or April, eleven hundred and eighty-four years before Chriſt; whereas Sir Iſaac Newton places it nine hundred and four years only before the commencement of the Chriſtian æra, referring to theſe authors (6).

I muſt here but in brief obſerve, that the prolixity to diſcuſs this point, would too far extend the limits I have propoſed in theſe

(6) Diod. Sic. l. 5. c. i. Vitruv. Juſtin. Vell. Paterc. l. 1. ſub init. Newton's Chron. p. 3, 66, 112, &c.

ſheets

ſheets on matters of ſuch high antiquity. I ſhall only here obſerve, that in the ſeventh year of the reign of Pygmalion, that his ſiſter Eliſa, called alſo Dido, flying from Tyre, built Carthage in Africa: and afterwards he ſent to the temple of Hercules, ſtanding in the iſland of Gades, a rich donative, being the figure of an olive-tree of maſſy gold, and of moſt exquiſite and curious workmanſhip, its berries, which were of emerald, bearing a wonderful reſemblance with the natural fruit of that tree (7).

Now Pygmalion reigned forty years (8); Dido fled in his ſeventh year, he therefore reigned thirty-three years after her flight; and ſometime in thoſe laſt numbers, or before, ſent his fleet to Gades, with that rich donative. Gadira was therefore not only known to them, but it muſt have been a ſtation, and the temple muſt have been magnificent, as were thoſe of Tyre, &c. in Phœnicia; and equal to receive ſo vaſt a donative: and by the accounts already related, it was one hundred and ſixty years after the flight of Dido, before the Carthaginians viſited that iſle, which circumſtance alone is ſufficient to confute what has been ſaid from Juſtin, &c.

The religion originally of the Phœnicians, was patriarchal, pure, and undefiled, and ſo brought into Spain; the temples at this early period, were pillars of ſtone. The pillars of Hercules, were theſe very pillars of ſtone, the ſame as the Petræ ambroſiæ of Tyre, taken from the ſtone or pillar, which Jacob ſlept on, as a pillow, whereon he had the celeſtial viſion, which he ſet up for a pillar; and poured oil upon the top of it, and called the place Beth-el, i. e. the houſe of God, &c. The religion therefore of theſe times was the ne plus ultra, of all which I have ſufficiently treated.

When man fell from the true worſhip of God, they had covered temples: temples, originally, were a grove, as thoſe of

(7) Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon. l. 5. c. i. (8) Joſeph. con. Apion. l. i.

Mamre;

Mamre; and a pillar, or circle of ſtones, as thoſe of Stonehenge, &c. all open at top. In Hiram's days they covered temples: and Pygmalion ſucceeded Hiram years after.

It was long after the death of Melcartus, that the Phœnicians built a temple to him in the iſland of Gades, ſays Sir Iſaac Newton, and adorned it with the ſculptures of the labours of Hercules, and of his Hydra, and the horſes to whom he threw Diomedes, king of Biſtones, in Thrace, to be devoured. In this temple was the golden belt of Teucer, and the golden olive of Pygmalion, bearing Smaragdine fruit: and ſays Sir Iſaac, by theſe conſecrated gifts of Teucer and Pygmalion (brother to Dido, who ſent her fleet to Cadiz one hundred and ſixty years after) you may know it was built in their days.

But I muſt ſtill obſerve, that the overthrow of the Geryons was either in, or near Gades; for Garibay ſays, they were buried in the iſle of Gades (9): and Mela ſays, the Tyrians built a ſtately temple to this Hercules, which became famous both for its antiquity and vaſt treaſures (1): and Arnobius writes, "Tyrius Hercules ſepultus in finibus Hiſpaniæ:" "the Tyrian Hercules was "buried in the borders of Spain." And Mela ſays, "Cur ſanctum ſit, oſſa ejus ibi ſepulta efficiunt:" "the reaſon of its being "ſacred, is, that his bones are buried there."

Carthage, ſays Sir Iſaac, paid tenths to this Hercules, and ſent their payments to Tyre: and thence, it's probable, that this Hercules went to the coaſt of Afric, as well as Spain, and by his diſcoveries prepared the way for Dido. Oroſius and others tell, that he built Capſa there: but if the Carthaginians were not only the founders of the city of Gades, but were maſters of that iſland after having wrenched that country out of the Tyrian poſſeſſion, what need had they to ſend their tenths to Tyre; ſeeing that the ſo much famed temple ſtood upon the Gadirian iſle.

(9) Garibay, ubi ſup. Lib. IV. c. xii. ad fin. (1) De ſit. orb. Lib. III. c. vi.

But,

But, ſays Sir Iſaac (2), Joſephus tells us of an earlier Hercules, to whom Hiram built a temple at Tyre; and perhaps, continues he, there might be alſo an earlier Hercules of Tyre, who ſet on foot their trade on the Red Sea, in the days of David, or Solomon.

Hercules, after his expedition againſt Geryon in Spain, came that year into Italy, and upon the arrival of his fleet from Erythræa (Gades) he ſailed to Sicily, and there left the Sicani, a Spaniſh people: that is, the followers of Geryon, the Mauruſians whom they conquered: and after they had aſſiſted him in making new conqueſts, he rewarded them with new ſeats. This was the Egyptian Hercules, the ſame as the Phœnician, who had a potent fleet, and in the days (ſays Sir Iſaac) of Solomon, ſailed to the Straits, and according to his cuſtom, ſet up pillars there, and conquered Geryon, and returned back to Italy, Sicily, and Egypt, and was by the ancient Gauls called Ogmius, and by the Egyptians Nilus: for Erythræa, and the country of Geryon, were without the Straits; that is, Gibraltar.

Now, as Hercules died in that iſle, and was there buried, I conclude that it was after he had made other deſcents on foreign lands, and returned from Britain: that his ſetting up his pillars on Gades was nine kings' reigns prior to Pygmalion: for Hiram, cotemporary with Solomon, began his reign in the year of the flood one thouſand three hundred and two, and Elulæus, the ſucceſſor of Pygmalion, in whoſe ſeventh year of his reign, Dido fled, commenced his reign in one thouſand ſix hundred and thirty-one. Now the Carthaginians did not viſit Gades until one hundred and ſixty years after the flight of Dido, in Pygmalion's ſeventh year of his reign; which, from the beginning of Hiram's reign to the Carthaginians deſcent upon the iſle of Gades, was near five hundred years.

(2) Vid. Chron. Ancient Kingd. amended.

It is but reaſonable to ſuppoſe, as Hercules was ſeveral times upon that iſle, that he built a city thereon, before the Carthaginians viſit to the aſſiſtance of the Phœnicians, and more particularly as he was there buried: however, I muſt not dwell any longer, as I have treated ſufficiently upon this ſubject.

Gades was known to the Phœnicians between the fourth and fifth century after the flood: and Hercules was the great navigator and planter of that iſle; and it was a mart and Tyrian ſtation, long before the Carthaginians flew to their aſſiſtance, being in fact not a part of the ſame people; for Hercules was not a deſcendent of the accurſed line of Ham, if it was a curſe, which Canaan received from Noah: and the Phœnicians were Canaanites by deſcent, and the Carthaginians were Tyrians, i. e. Phœnicians.

CHAP. VIII.

SPAIN's ANTIQUITY CONTINUED, AND MAINTAINED, ETC.

I MAY venture to affirm, that very few towns were in Spain, (thoſe on the ſea coaſt excepted) and built by Phœnicians; as Carteia, Tarteſſus, and Gadira, Medina Sidonia, Malacca, &c. before the Carthaginians landed at Gadira: and when the Turditani had, at the inſtigation of Hannibal, aſſiſted the brave Saguntines, their neighbours, againſt the Romans; but one city that they had, is mentioned, the name of which is not ſo much as recorded; and which theſe cauſed to be razed, and the inhabitants to be ſold for ſlaves (1).

As for Gadira, having been once called the Erythræan iſle, where Geryon is ſaid to have kept his fine oxen, which Hercules came and ſtole from him (2); and which is placed by others, near that of Gades, while others again have thought it to have ſunk

(1) Liv. Lib. xxi. c. vi. Lib. xxiv. c. xlii. (2) Heſiod. Theogon. ver. 289, & ſeq.

into the ſea, or was to be ſought for among the rocks, is a point not to be well ſettled. The Univerſal Hiſtory ſays, that Ptolemy's Rœna, and Erythia, are two ſmall obſcure iſlands in the Atlantic ocean, oppoſite to the tract between his Major and Minor Atlas; and that this iſland Erythia, is now called Mogador, and has a caſtle in it of conſiderable ſtrength, and defended by a garriſon of two hundred men, who are poſted there to ſecure the gold mines in the neighbouring country, from which it is about five miles diſtant (3).

On the iſle of Cyprus was a promontory, called Gades, a Phœnician name, the ſame as Gadira, but afterwards Capo Chiti.

The iſle of Cyprus was firſt diſcovered by the Phœnicians, as Eratoſthenes informs us (4), about two or three generations, according to Sir Iſaac Newton's computation (5), before the days of Aſterius and Minos, kings of Crete, that is, about one thouſand and ſix years before the Chriſtian æra.

Strabo ſays, that the Bætis formerly emptied itſelf into the ſea at two different places (6): one of them has been ſtopped up. Mela mentions the city of Carteia in the ſame bay (7), which, he ſays, ſome fancy to have been the ancient Tarteſſus. Hence authors, ſays the Univerſal Hiſtory (8), are divided in their opinions, whether there were two diſtinct cities, or the ſame with different names. We find nothing, continue theſe gentlemen, that can ſatisfy our readers on that head: ancient authors often confounding theſe two names and that of Gades together, as the learned Bochart and others have juſtly obſerved.

As for the fabulous account of its having altered its name from Tarteſſus to that of Gades, on account of Hercules's ſetting up his two columns there (9), it is rightly rejected.

(3) Moll. de la Croix, &c. Univ. Hiſt. Vol. xviii. B. iv. c. xv. p. 188. and n. (F). (4) Apud Strabonem i. 14. p. 684. (5) Sir Iſ. Newt. Chron. p. 183. (6) Strabo, Lib. iii. (7) De ſitu orb. Lib. ii. c. vi. (8) Univ. Hiſt. Vol. xviii. B. iv. c. xxiv. p. 472. n. (G). (9) Dionyſius Alexander. Vide Auct. Hiſp. Sup. citat. and Gerund. Paralip. Lib. i.

I find

I find in the hiſtory of the Celtes, that the total overthrow which Jupiter gave to the Titans, was near the ancient city of Tarteſa in Spain, a ſea-port town a little to the north of Cadiz (1): where it ſeems he went in perſon with a great fleet, and a powerful army, and having brought over ſome of their confederates to his ſide, and gained this ſignal victory, he reigned very peaceably to the end of his life.

This ſeems alſo confirmed by what Juſtin (2) adds, that the Curetes lived formerly in the foreſts about Tarteſſus. Some of his commentators indeed have affirmed, after Voſſius, that it ought to be read Cinetes, becauſe the Curetes were a people of Crete.

Now the Curetes were the prieſts, or ſouthſayers, of the Titans and Celtes, and accompanied them in their wars: What wonder, then, ſay my authors (3), that ſome of them who had followed Jupiter in this expedition, and delighted otherwiſe in a kind of an Aſcetic life, ſhould be induced to make thoſe foreſts their abode?

Before the death of Jupiter, he is affirmed, as a known truth (4), to have divided his kingdom, and to have given the weſtern or European part of it to his uncle Dis, or Pluto, ſurnamed alſo Ageſilaus, whilſt himſelf kept the Aſiatic or eaſtern part of it (5): he alſo gave ſome part of Africa to his nephew Atlas.

The name Ageſilaus, which ſignifies a leader of the people, or Ageſander, as it is found in other writers (6), and ſignifies a leader of men, might be given him on account of his leading his nephew's colonies into Europe, and perhaps as far as Spain; where, as I have obſerved, there had been both Titans and Curetes in the neighbourhood of the ancient city of Tarteſia. Here likewiſe he is ſuppoſed to have found out ſome rich mines of gold

(1) Tartul. Apolog. Scholiaſt. in Iliad VIII. and ver. i. 479. ap. Pezron, c. xi. (2) Lib. XLIV. c. iv. (3) Univ. Hiſt. Vol. VI. B. I. c. xii. p. 49. n. (B). (4) Ibid. p. 50. (5) Evemer. ap. Lactant. inſtitut. Lib. I. c. x. (6) Æſchyl. Callimach. Athen. Heſych. ap. Pezron ibid.

and ſilver (7), by which he grew ſo rich, that he got the name of Pluto, in Greek Πλουτος, which ſignifies rich, and was afterwards made the god of riches, upon his being deified; and this probably induced Strabo to believe, that the Tartara of the Greeks and Latins, came from the above-named Tarteſia, a country ſituate in the utmoſt parts of Spain weſtward (8).

Hence likewiſe, Jupiter having the dominion of the eaſt, or ſun-riſing, as Pluto had that of the weſt, or ſun-ſetting, came alſo probably the fable of the former being the lord of heaven, and the latter of the infernal regions: perhaps likewiſe it might be, the mythologiſts of thoſe fables think it very reaſonable to aſſign the government of riches, and the infernal regions, to the ſame deity, to put men in mind that the former were the ready road to the latter.

Jupiter began to reign when Iſaac had attained the one half of his age (9), or ſome years after Abraham's death, and this is what may be made out from ancient hiſtorians, ſuch as Evemerus, Ennius, Thallus, and ſome others, who all agree, that Jupiter reigned in the time of Belus, the firſt king of Aſſyria; which agrees exactly with the opinion of thoſe who made the verſes of the Sybils, which expreſsly ſay, that Saturn, with his brothers Titan and Japhet, began to reign with the tenth generation after the deluge: they were thoſe, whom people called the children of heaven and earth, becauſe they excelled all others in virtue and ſtrength. Now the tenth generation from the deluge exactly anſwers to the time of Abraham: however, Mr. Pezron places this Titan prince Jupiter, no higher than the middle, that is, the ninety-eighth year of Iſaac's life, and that he could not precede Moſes above three hundred years.

Jou, or Jupiter, was the youngeſt ſon of Saturn's children; Saturn was Iſus, or Chronus, the eldeſt ſon of four, of their father Uranus, married to his own ſiſter Γη Ge, or the earth.

(7) Strab. Geogra. l. 5. (8) Vid. Strabo, idem. (9) Univ. Hiſt. Vol. VI. B. I. c. xii. p. 49.

Now

Now according to the Phœnician hiſtorian Sanchoniathon, Uranus was Noah, and Chronus was Ham: theſe two ſyſtems claſh remarkably together; and I take them from the ſame ſource: but to enter deeply into theſe matters, would extend my preſent plan, and I muſt refer to my Phœnician hiſtory, if it pleaſes God to permit me to finiſh it, and reſtore thoſe loſſes of books and notes conſumed on the firſt of November, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-five, by the mob of New York, on account of my protecting the ſtamp-papers in Fort George of that city: however, I allow, the ancient territories of the Celtes, over whom Jupiter reigned, to have extended eaſt and weſt, from the head ſpring Iſter or Danube, which divided them from the European Sarmatia, quite croſs Europe unto Cape Finiſterre, and the Strait of Hercules, now Gibraltar; and contained among the other provinces, Iberia, now Spain and Portugal, to the utmoſt borders of Spaneja.

The name of Celtiberians, or inhabitants of Celtiberia, or Spain, might be deſigned to diſtinguiſh thoſe Celtes on that, from thoſe on this ſide the Pyrenees. For Gallia, or Gaul, is found to be divided into Cis and Tranſ-alpina, and the word Iberia ſeems to be derived from the old Celtic and Teutonic Iber, which ſignifies over (1); and thus Spain, which is ſometimes found in the plural number, was divided into Citerior and Ulterior.

Joſephus indeed affirms, that it was firſt peopled by the Thobalines, or ſons of Tubal, or Thobal, as he calls him (2), who was the fifth ſon of Japhet (3): on the other hand, the learned Sir Walter Raleigh thinks it more probable, that Spain was firſt inhabited by the Africans, who did from thence conceive ſuch fondneſs for it, that they have been ever ſince ſtriving from time to time to regain it (4). But, ſay the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory, we ſee no reaſon for preferring either of theſe opinions to

(1) Cluver. Lib. II. c. v. (2) Antiq. Lib. I. c. vii. (3) Gen. x. v. 2.
(4) Hiſtory, chap. viii. ſect. iii, & ſeq.

the

the concurrent teſtimony of the authors they have quoted; to which, ſay they, we may add, that the ſurname of Celto, given to that province, and that of Celtiberians, or Celto-Iberians, to its inhabitants, make it much more probable, that the Celtes were the firſt peoplers of it, eſpecially when it is conſidered, that the name of Iberia ſignifies in the old Celtic and Teutonic, over, or on the other ſide, as has been already obſerved: ſo that the Celtiberians might mean only the Celtes, on the other ſide the Pyreneans, to diſtinguiſh them from thoſe on this ſide.

It is likewiſe more natural to ſuppoſe, that the warm ſituation of Spain might invite the Celtes thither from the more northern climates of Europe, than that the Africans ſhould go thither by ſea; unleſs we can, ſay theſe gentlemen, ſwallow the ridiculous Spaniſh tradition, which makes Tubal to have croſſed over thither, and to have built the town of St. Vaal, which is ſtill ſtanding at this day (5).

But when theſe gentlemen, in another volume (6), treat of the names of Spain, they ſpeak doubtfully, or rather fix on only a part of Spain, being known either to the Greeks or Romans. The generality of the Greek writers, ſay they, call Spain Ἱβηρία, Iberia, either from a colony of Iberians, a people bordering upon mount Caucaſus, planted there, or from the Iberus, the Ebro of the moderns, one of the moſt noted rivers of this country: however, the Ancients who lived before Polybius, by Iberia underſtood only that part of Spain extending from the Pyrenees to Calpe, or the Straits of Gibraltar, and terminated by the Mediterranean; the other part being unknown to, and conſequently going under no name amongſt the Greeks and Romans. As the Iberus, continue theſe gentlemen, was by far the moſt conſiderable river of this tract, it might have received the denomination of Iberia from thence, as Egypt, according to ſome, did its name

(5) Hiſt. of the World, ubi ſup. ſect. iv. Univ. Hiſt. Vol. VI. Book I. c. xii.
(6) Idem, Vol. XVIII. B. IV. c. xxiv. p. 457.

from

from the Nile, which Homer intimates to have been called Egyptus: but notwithſtanding what is here advanced, they apprehend, that the true and proper Iberia was originally only that part of Spain called Celtiberia, from a body of Celtes ſettling in it, bounded by the Iberus, the Pyrenees, and the Mediterranean; which, if we admit, ſay they, it is no wonder that the Phœnicians gave it the name of Iberia: for the Hebrew עבר Eber, as well as the Chaldec, Syriac, or Phœnician עברא Ebra, or Ibra, in the ſingular number, ſignifies a paſſage, and, in the plural, bounds or limits. The Phœnicians, therefore, might either have called the moſt conſiderable river of this tract, and one of its boundaries, Eber, Iber, Ebra, &c. and from thence have ſtiled the inhabitants of it Iberians; or have denominated the tract itſelf Iberia, from its ſituation, it having been generally conſidered by them, as one of the remoteſt regions, or weſtern limits of the earth. Be that as it will, we can, ſay they, by no means think it probable, that any part of Spain was called Iberia, from a colony of Iberians ſettled there, ſince hiſtory does not in the leaſt countenance ſuch a notion. Feſtus Avienus places the Iberi upon the coaſt of the Atlantic ocean, to the weſt of the Iberus, a little river between the Bætis and the Anas, the Rio Tinto, or Rio de Azeche of the moderns: but his authority, with regard to the ſituation of the moſt ancient Iberi, muſt give way to that of Polybius (7).

As theſe accounts do not tally well together, (waving Joſephus, and the Spaniſh hiſtorians concerning the fabulous account of Tubal) I ſhall only conſider the Celtes and Phœnicians.

Hercules the Phœnician flouriſhed, and conquered Antæus in Africa, and the Geryons in Spain, about the days of Abraham.

(7) Chriſtopher. Cellar. ubi ſupra. Polyb. Lib. III. Homer. apud Bochart. in Chan. Lib. I. c. xxxv. ut & ipſe Bochart. ibid. Val. Schindlen lex. pentaglot. in voc. עבר Claudian. in Stilich. Strab. Lib. III. p. 169. & Poſidon. apud Strabon. ibid. Philoſtrat. in vit. Apollon. Titan, Lib. II. c. xiv. Pind. Olymp. 3. ſub fin. & Scholiaſt. Pind. in loc. Plin. Nat. Hiſt. Lib. III. c. vii. Feſtus Avien. mor. maritim.

Antæus

Antæus was Atlas. If Jupiter gave him Africa, they all lived at one and the ſame time with his Africans. The elder Geryon was a ſtranger, as his name importeth, not Celtic: Geryon (as Sir Walter rightly obſerves) landed about the Straits. Geryon was buried in the iſle of Gadira, ſo was Hercules. Hercules built Carteia in Gibraltar bay: the coaſt of this ocean was therefore firſt peopled by the elder Geryon's Mauruſians, and Hercules's Phœnician followers, who conquered the Africans, and ſeated themſelves with them, and in their ſtead.

Perhaps Jupiter with his fleet, might have landed an army, and have overthrown a body of people near Tarteſſus, as it has been ſince ſo called. Theſe might have been ſome of the aforeſaid Africans, who had fled from the conquering arms of Hercules: for Hercules's reſidence was upon the iſland of Gadira, now Cales: if ſo, ſome of Jupiter's followers might have taken up their abode in the foreſts of Tarteſſus, and in time become a formidable people; who, with the other Celtes, known by the name of Celtiberians, for reaſons already given, joined, and obliged the Phœnicians to call in the Carthaginians to their aid.

But, after all, I do not believe at this early period, that the Celtes, under Jupiter, ever made this deſcent: I rather take it to be one ſtory, i. e. the deſcent of Hercules, and that he did make this early deſcent, is allowed by the learned antiquarians. It was about the days of Abraham; and it was him who conquered Antæus, who was Atlas.

Beſides, Iberia is a Phœnician name: and Spanija, or Sphaneja, is a Phœnician name, and Luſitania is a Phœnician name, &c.

And it muſt be remembered, that there was a great affinity between the Celtic and Hebrew tongue; and the Phœnician character in the early ages, was the moſt univerſal, and is now allowed to have been the ſame with the Samaritan and Hebrew: ſo that Iberia, Celt-Iberia, Luſitania, &c. may be either Phœnician or Celtic, or both.

Beſides,

Beſides, at this very early period, in the reign of Jupiter, ſome time in the latter end of Iſaac's days, (for it was but in the middle of his age, when he began his reign) it ſeems very improbable for the deſcendents of Gomer, to have migrated ſo exceedingly faſt, as to ſpread themſelves to the very verge of the ſouth-weſtern Iberian, or rather Spanejan ſhore, ready, as it were, to ſtep into Africa: particularly when I conſider with Sir Walter and others, that their migrations were all by land; for it is wonderful to ſuppoſe, that the deſcendents of Gomer could have come into Europe by ſea, with ſuch numerous retinues, ſo early as to people Spain, as well as other countries, ſo long before any thing of navigation, even of coaſting, was known to them: as by the account of Jupiter's deſcent, it implies, that the country on the Straits was well peopled by theſe Celtes, anciently Gomerians. Now, by the learned Uſher, I find the diſperſion of mankind from the tower of Babel, happened in the hundred and firſt year of the flood, at Peleg's birth. If therefore we conſider, that the colonies migrated from Shinaar, the branch of Shem, incloſed by that of Japhet on the north, and Ham on the ſouth; the nations and families in each of theſe great diviſions took their ſtations according to ſeniority, the eldeſt remaining neareſt the centre, and the youngeſt removing outermoſt.

And nothing is more abſurd than to ſuppoſe, that the Gomerians ſeparated themſelves from the reſt, before the general diſperſion of Babel. Gomer was the eldeſt ſon of Japhet, the eldeſt ſon of Noah; he was the father of the Gomerites, who, with the other patriarchs, never left their firſt ſettlements, called by the Greeks Galatians, who were the Gauls of Aſia Minor, inhabiting part of Phrygia; of this opinion is Bochart, and if it be right, thoſe who derive the Cimmerians or Cimbri from Gomer, have ſome grounds for it, the Cimmerians ſeeming to be the ſame people with the Gauls, or Celtes, under a different name.

Let Gomer therefore reſt where the learned Bochart ſettles him, viz. in Phrygia (8), without ſtraining to make that word the Greek tranſlation of his name. Aſkenas was Gomer's eldeſt ſon, or (according to the Armenians) Togarmath his youngeſt, or it may be both of them, in Armenia; and Rephath the ſecond ſon in Cappadocia, or in ſome province, in the neighbourhood of Phrygia (9): for the condition in which the young world was then, would not permit them to go far from each other at firſt; and when their increaſe made it afterwards neceſſary to enlarge their territories, it is reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they kept a correſpondence with each other, by means of thoſe rivers, along whoſe banks both they and their deſcendents were forced to pitch their tents, for the convenience of paſture for their numerous herds (1): and even when they began to ſpread themſelves further and wider into Europe, they ſeem to have moved regularly, and in columns, without interfering one with another, and as it were by a ſettled contract, for in proportion to their advancing northward, we find, ſays the Univerſal Hiſtory, the Gomerians, who had taken the left hand, inſenſibly ſpreading themſelves weſtwards, towards Poland, Hungary, Germany, France, and ſo quite to Spain, whilſt the Scythians, or deſcendents of Magog, moved to the right eaſtward, towards Muſcovy and Tartary, as far as the borders of Cathai, if not beyond.

Thus was all Europe, and the far greater part of Aſia, their utmoſt extent northward, peopled by thoſe two famous nations, the former almoſt wholly by the Celtes, or Gomerians, that is, from the utmoſt parts of Spain to Scythia Europeana, eaſtward, and the latter from thence almoſt to the territories of China: ſo that the whole extent of theſe two nations reached from the tenth

(8) Bochart. Phaleg. Lib. III. c. i. (9) Vid. Euſeb. Loc. Hebr. & Bochart. ubi ſup. Lib. III. c. viii. (1) See Raleigh's Hiſt. ubi ſup. ſect. vi.

degree

degree weſt, to the eighth eaſt longitude, and in latitude from the fortieth degree quite up to the arctic circle.

Upon the whole, then, it appears, that the firſt rank belongs the noble Celtic nation, as deſcended from the elder brother, though the preference has been given to the Scythians by the univerſal vote of profane authors, who were unacquainted, that their progenitor was Gomer's younger brother (2).

Now, there was a ſufficient number of people at the birth of Peleg, and of the flood one hundred and one, for the planting of nations (3): for neither does the ſcripture ſuppoſe, as Perizonius well obſerves, multitudes being at that time, nor did the nature of the tranſaction require it; the firſt plantations being made only with a few, and thoſe ſmall families, which removed no farther than the countries in the neighbourhood of Shinaar (4).

Archbiſhop Uſher is of opinion, that in the hundred and ſecond year of the flood, mankind might have increaſed to the number three hundred and eighty-eight thouſand, ſix hundred and five males, and as many females; in all, ſeven hundred and ſeventy-ſeven thouſand, two hundred and ten of the lines of Japhet, Shem, and Ham: ſo that the third of theſe, to either of the patriarchs, amounts to two hundred and fifty-nine thouſand and ſeventy. Such an extraordinary increaſe the archbiſhop aſcribes to an extraordinary fecundity, owing to that repeated command or bleſſing, Increaſe and multiply, and fill the earth (5); but a much ſmaller number had been ſufficient.

And it is now generally owned, that the number of ſouls upon the face of the whole earth, at preſent, does not exceed four thouſand millions.

(2) Univ. Hiſt. Vol. VI. B. I. c. xii. p. 10. (3) Idem, Vol. I. B. I. c. ii. p. 359. (4) Perizon. Orig. Babylon. p. 309, 310. (5) Uſh. Chron. Sacr. B. I. c. v. p. 27.

It is to be conſidered, that each of the colonies increaſed in proportion as they removed further from the centre of their migration, before they arrived at the countries, where they finally ſettled; for the earth was not planted at once, but by degrees.

As to the order or method wherein theſe firſt plantations of the earth were made, ſome have imagined there was little or none, but that each colony ſettled where they did, by mere chance (6), every one ſeizing on thoſe countries where he caſually arrived (7): yet (ſays the laſt quoted hiſtory) if we attentively conſider the account given of this tranſaction, by the ſacred hiſtorian, we ſhall find nothing more foreign to his intention, than a precipitate and confuſed diſſipation: for, firſt, we are told, with regard to the ſons of Japhet, the eldeſt branch of Noah's poſterity, "that theſe "were the iſles of the Gentiles divided in their lands; every one "after his tongue, after their families, in their nations (8);" in like manner, Moſes concludes the account he gives us of the ſons of Ham, the youngeſt branch of Noah's poſterity, with theſe words: "Theſe are the ſons of Ham, after their families, after their tongues, "in their countries, in their nations (9):" and that of the deſcendents of Ham ends thus: "Theſe are the ſons of Shem after their "families, after their tongues, in their lands, after their nations (1)." From which texts may well be inferred (as the learned Mede has obſerved) (2) that this great diviſion of the earth of which we are ſpeaking, was performed orderly, and was not a confuſed and irregular diſperſion, wherein every one went whither he would, and ſeated himſelf where he liked beſt (3).

We ſee a two-fold order in theſe firſt plantations: firſt they were ranged according to their nations, and then every nation was

(6) Heideg. Hiſt. Patr. t. 1. Exerc. xxii. ſect. xi. (7) Heſtiæus. Miles apud Euſeb. Præp. Evang. Lib. ix. c. xv. Univ. Hiſt. Vol. 1. B. 1. c. ii. p. 361, 364. (8) Gen. x. 5. (9) Ibid. ver. 20. (1) Ibid. ver. 31. (2) Vid. Mede in loc. ut ſupra citat. (3) Wells's Geog. of the Old Teſtament, Vol. 1. p. 93.

ranked

ranked after their families; ſo that every nation dwelt and had their lot by themſelves; and in every nation the families alſo dwelt, and had their lot by themſelves; for the true import of the before cited texts ſeems to be, that the land, or peculiar lot of each family, did lie within the general lot of each nation.

Now, as theſe Celtes moved regularly as I have deſcribed; and we may rationally ſuppoſe, it was ſome time before they peopled that great country of Aſia Minor; poſſeſſing the margins of every river, and clearing the country to make room as they multiplied; ſo they muſt have purſued the ſame tedious plan, through thoſe vaſt tracts of lands already mentioned before they could have attained the Pyrenean hills; moving, multiplying, toiling, ſpreading, and fixing their abodes in a uniform, regular ſyſtem.

As for the hypotheſis of the different chronologers, every reader may form his own judgment upon them, or erect a new one for himſelf; but this muſt be remembered, they were the children of Shem, Ham, and Japhet; the deſcendents from Shinaar, migrating over ſome thouſands of miles, through woods, foreſts, deſarts, and bogs; and with all the incumbrance of their families, cattle, and other luggage, peopling the ſides of all rivers as preſented in their migration, for convenience of paſture, ignorant of the art of navigation: whereas the line of Ham were very early navigators, both Syrians, Phœnicians, Idumeans, and Egyptians, in the moſt early ages; and therefore migrated into diſtant colonies much ſooner than the line of Japhet: for navigation was on the Mediterranean as early as the days of Abraham; and in the Perſian Gulph, Red Sea, and Indian ocean, ſo early as the days of Eſau, who was Edom: yet, as Tibullus has it,

"Prima ratem ventis credere docta Tyrus."

"A Tyrian firſt taught a veſſel to truſt herſelf to the winds."

And to countenance this, by many examples, I ſhall only here obſerve, that Aſhur the ſecond ſon of Shem, when he left Shinaar went into Aſſyria, and built Nineveh, and other cities, (as Perizonius

zonius has clearly proved) that the text ought ſo to be underſtood: yet the Aſſyrians, his deſcendents, knew nothing of the iſle of Cyprus; no, neither was it known to the deſcendents of Japhet, remaining in its priſtine ſtate, till the Phœnicians, thoſe great and ancient navigators, firſt diſcovered it. If the line of Japhet, or Shem, had navigated on the Mediterranean before the Phœnicians, they muſt have diſcovered this iſle, only ſeparated from the continent by two ſmall ſeas, the mare Syrum, and mare Pamphylium.

This iſland extends from eaſt to weſt along the coaſt of Cilicia about one hundred and eighty miles, being but forty-five broad: it lies between the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth degrees of north latitude, and was anciently deemed one of the moſt fruitful iſlands of the Mediterranean: and, as I have ſaid, it was firſt diſcovered by the Phœnicians, as Eratoſthenes has wrote (4), about two or three generations, according to Sir Iſaac Newton's computation (5), before the days of Aſterius and Minos, kings of Crete, that is, about one thouſand and ſix years before the Chriſtian æra. In one thouſand and four the temple was finiſhed, and dedicated by Solomon, which was the one thouſand three hundred and forty-fourth of the flood. It was, ſays Eratoſthenes, when firſt diſcovered, ſo overgrown with wood, that it could not be tilled, and the Phœnicians firſt cut down the wood for the melting of copper. Herodotus likewiſe ſuppoſes the Phœnicians to have been the firſt who peopled the iſland. Pygmalion, king of Tyre, is ſaid by Stephanus to have built the city of Carpaſia in this iſland. I know that Joſephus will have the iſland of Cyprus to have been the ſeat of Kittim, and the town called Citium, which belongs to it, to have taken its name from them (6); but in the Apocrypha, Macedonia is plainly denoted by the land of Chettim, Alexander being mentioned as coming from thence (7); and Perſes, king of Macedo-

(4) Apud Strabonem, lib. xiv. p. 684. (5) Sir Iſ. Newt. Chron. p. 183.
(6) Antiq. ubi ſup. (7) 1 Mac. i. 1.

nia,

nia, is called king of the Cittims (8). Joſephus in this point, in my opinion, muſt give place to Eratoſthenes, Herodotus, and others.

But what ſeems extraordinary, is, that the Phœnicians were ſo long, before they themſelves had diſcovered Cyprus, being in the one thouſand three hundred and forty-ſecond of the flood, the year before Solomon ſet about the building of the temple, one thouſand and four years before Chriſt; for, as I have obſerved, navigation was on the Mediterranean ſo early as Abraham's days, i. e. about the fifth century.

Sidon was built by Sidon, the eldeſt ſon of Canaan, the ſon of Ham, the third ſon of Noah; and the city of Tyre was the daughter of Sidon. So early was the Phœnician coaſt ſettled: and the parts planted by Canaan's line is eaſily to be found, viz. Sidon, Heth, the Jebuſites, Amorites, Girgaſhites, Hivites, Arkites, Sinites, Arvadites, Zemarites, and Hamathites, all ſettling, beyond doubt, in the land of Canaan, in the year of the flood three hundred and fifty-two, which was before Chriſt one thouſand nine hundred and ninety-ſix, and in courſe three thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-three years ago.

Now from Shinaar to Tingis, where the line of Ham migrated, is nothing near to the vaſt diſtances, that the Gomerian line were obliged to take, before they could have reached to the Tarteſian foreſt; and therefore muſt have attained to that part of Africa long before the deſcendents of Japhet could have reached the oppoſite European ſhore; but when we conſider the early navigation upon the Mediterranean, it is no wonder to find Atlas and Antæus reigning over Mauritania, about the fifth century; Antæus was killed by Hercules, who navigated on the Mediterranean, and the Atlantic ocean, as far as our Scilly iſles, about the fifth century alſo.

(8) Ibid. VIII. 5.

A colony therefore tranſported themſelves over into Spain, under the elder Geryon, who were conquered by Melec-cartha, after he had built Carteia in the bay of Gibraltar; which I take to have been the eldeſt town or city in Spain: but, in proceſs of time, the Gomerian line extended themſelves over the Iberus, to the utmoſt limit of Spaneja, and were known by the name of Celtiberians, for reaſons already given.

I ſhall only juſt ſay, that nautical knowledge, with the uſe of the compaſs, ſteering by the Tyrian Cynoſure, and acquaintance of doubling the Cape of Good Hope, were known to theſe great people.

In the hiſtory of the iſle of Samos, I find their firſt enterpriſe is their ſailing to Egypt; but it muſt be obſerved here, that navigation, with writing, aſtrology, arithmetic, poetry, &c. were carried into Greece by the Phœnicians under Cadmus. Theſe Samians planted a colony in Egypt, in the city of Oſias, which, as Herodotus writes (9), was inhabited by the Samians of the Æſchrionian tribe: but, as to the time of this expedition, hiſtory is in the dark, as alſo of their firſt voyage to Tarteſſus in Spain, which is related by Herodotus thus: a Samian veſſel, bound homewards from Egypt under the command of one Colæus, was, by ſtreſs of weather, driven into the harbour of Platæa, an iſland of Lybia: from thence Colæus ſet ſail, with a deſign to recover the coaſts of Egypt; but had ſcarce left the iſland, when a violent eaſterly wind ariſing carried him, in ſpite of all his endeavours, beyond the pillars of Hercules, nor did it ever ceaſe or abate till he arrived at Tarteſſus. As no foreign traders had ever before touched at that port, the inhabitants flocking to the ſhore, bought their commodities at ſuch prices as they were pleaſed to ſet upon them; whence the profits they made were ſo conſiderable, that, upon their return to Samos, they made, with the tenth part of their

(9) Herodot. Lib. III. c. xxvi.

gain,

gain, amounting to ſix talents, a baſon of braſs, ſurrounded with the heads of griffins inclining to each other, and placed it in the temple of Juno, ſupported by three ſtatues of braſs in a kneeling poſture ſeven feet high (1).

It is, ſays Dr. Arbuthnot (2), with great aſſurance that the ſeveral cities of Greece diſpute the invention of different ſorts of ſhips, when the Phœnician and Egyptian veſſels, from whom undoubtedly they had their models, were daily to be ſeen in their harbours. They have indeed, ſays this gentleman, one thing which they may claim as an improvement of the Phœnician navigation; for the Phœnicians conducted their ſhips by the Little Bear, and they by the Great Bear: but their navigation was ſtill confined to the Mediterranean, till about ſix hundred years after the expedition of the Argonauts, when Cælus of Samos ſailed out of the Straits of Gibraltar as far as the city of Tarteſſus, at the mouth of the Bætis, now Guadalquivir, not far from the ſaid Straits.

The celebrated Argonautic expedition happened in the reign of Pelias, king of Theſſaly, about the year of the world two thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty, or one hundred years before the taking of Troy. We do not, ſay the authors of the Univerſal Hiſtory (3), pretend to ſettle this epocha with any certainty; but have followed that of archbiſhop Uſher, without entering into the difference between Sir Iſaac Newton and him: they therefore fix it in the year of the flood one thouſand and ſixty-eight, which was one thouſand two hundred and eighty before Chriſt: therefore Colæus ſailed to Tarteſſus one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-eight years after the flood.

Now let us ſee who and what theſe Curetes were, in the Tarteſſian foreſts about the Straits of Gibraltar.

(1) Idem, lib. IV. c. clii. (2) Vid. Dr. Arbuthnot on Coins, &c. p. 225.
(3) Univ. Hiſt. Vol. VIII. B. II. c. i. p. 218, 219.

In the Cretan hiſtory (4), next to the Idæi Dactyli, were the nine Curetes; the Curetes mentioned here by Diodorus were, according to Herodotus (5) and Strabo (6), originally Phœnicians, and accompanied Cadmus out of Phœnicia; ſome of them ſettling in Phrygia, where they were called Corybantes; ſome in Crete, where they were known by the name of Idæi Dactyli; ſome in Rhodes, where they bore the name of Telchines, &c. Clemens Alexandrinus calls the Idæi Dactyli Barbarians, that is, ſtrangers; and ſays, that they were the firſt who brought letters into Greece, Phrygia, and Crete; and adds, that, by their aſſiſtance, king Minos built a fleet, and gained the ſovereignty of the ſea (7). According to theſe authors, the Curetes and Idæi Dactyli were one and the ſame people, and did not ſettle in Crete till the time of Minos. Bochart brings the Curetes from Paleſtine, induced thereunto by the likeneſs there is between their name and that of the Crethim, or Cerethites, a people among the Philiſtines (8). Now the Philiſtines conquered Sidon, and it is not unlikely, that ſome of them mixed with the Phœnicians, and attended Cadmus into Crete and Greece. In ſhort, wander almoſt where you will on the Mediterranean, to the Palus Mæotis, Atlantic ſhores of Africa, and Europe even to Britain, and you may trace theſe once great people; nay, I am of opinion, in America alſo. They navigated on the Red Sea, doubling the Cape of Good Hope, and at length anchored in the famous Gadirian bay.

It was the Phœnicians, who adviſed Alexander to make harbours at the mouth of the river Indus, which advice he took: and he had undertaken to ſail round the Cape of Good Hope, but was prevented by death.

The Phœnicians were the greateſt navigators in the ancient times; they inhabited the maritime coaſts of Syria, bordering

(4) Dares Phryg. Vol. I. B. I. (5) Herod. lib. v. c. lviii. (6) Strab. lib. x. p. 464. (7) Clem. Alex. Stromat. lib. I. (8) Boch. in Canaan, lib. I. c. xv,

on

on Paleſtine. Their country is properly called Phœnice, not Phœnicia; "Phœnicen illuſtravere Phœnices," ſaith Pomponius Mela, "ſolers hominum Genus, & ad belli paciſque munia exi-"mium, literas, & literarum operas, aliaſque etiam artes, ma-"ria navibus adire, claſſe confligere, imperitare gentibus, reg-"num præliumque commenti."

Herodotus tells us (9), the firſt inhabitants of Corſica were Phœnicians; for, that Cadmus, the ſon of Agenor, when wandering in queſt of Europa, fell upon this iſland, which was named Calliſta, and left there ſome of his countrymen, with his own couſin Memblearcus: that eight generations afterwards, Theras, of the race of Cadmus, carried a colony there from Lacedæmon. But it is a great character indeed, to be ſkilled in arts and ſciences, addicted to navigation and commerce, powerful and valiant to maintain the empire of the ſeas, as Mela has told us.

The great Sir Iſaac Newton is of opinion, that Seſoſtris is the Oſiris of the Egyptians, the Bacchus of the Greeks, and the Seſac or Shiſhak of the ſcripture; towards the truth of which he produces ſeveral arguments: but there is no one argument on which this great chronologer lays a greater ſtreſs, for the proof of what he advances concerning Seſoſtris, than his ſeventh and laſt; which is as follows, wherein ſtrong mention is made of this Gadirian iſle.

Solon, ſays he (1), having travelled into Egypt, and converſed with the prieſts of Sais about their antiquities, wrote a poem of what he had learned, but did not finiſh it (2); and this poem fell into the hands of Plato, who relates out of it, that at the mouth of the Straits, near Hercules's pillars, there was an iſland called Atlantis, the people of which, nine thouſand years before the days of Solon, reigned over Libya as far as Egypt, and over Eu-

(9) Herodot. lib. IV. cap. cxlvii.
(1) Chronol. Ancient Kingd. amended.
(2) Plut. in Timæo & Critica.

rope as far as the Tyrrhenian ſea; and all this force collected into one body, invaded Egypt and Greece, and whatever was contained within the pillars of Hercules, but was reſiſted, and ſtopped by the Athenians and other Greeks; and thereby the reſt of the nations not yet conquered were preſerved. He ſaith alſo, that in thoſe days the gods having finiſhed their conqueſts, divided the whole earth amongſt themſelves, partly into larger, partly into ſmaller portions, and inſtituted temples and ſacred rites to themſelves: and that the iſland of Atlantis fell to the lot of Neptune, who made his eldeſt ſon Atlas king of the whole iſland, a part of which was called Gadir; and that in the ſtory of the ſaid wars, mention was made of Cecrops, Erechtheus, Erichthonius, and others before Theſeus, and alſo of the women who warred with the men, and of the habit and ſtature of Minerva, the ſtudy of war in thoſe days being common to men and women: by all theſe circumſtances it is manifeſt, ſays Sir Iſaac, that theſe gods were the Dii magni majorum gentium, and lived between the age of Cecrops and Theſeus; and that the wars, which Seſoſtris, with his brother Neptune, made upon the nations by land and ſea, and the reſiſtance he met with in Greece, and the following invaſion of Egypt by Neptune, are here deſcribed; and how the captains of Alexander the Great gained his conqueſts long after; and inſtituted temples, and prieſts, and ſacred rites, to themſelves, cauſed the nations to worſhip them, after their death, as gods: and that the iſland Gadir, or Gades, with all Libya, fell to the lot of him, who, after death, was deified by the name of Neptune. The time, therefore, continues Sir Iſaac, when theſe things were done, is by Solon limited to the age of Neptune, the father of Atlas; for Homer tells us, that Ulyſſes, preſently after the Trojan war, found Calypſo, the daughter of Atlas, in the Ogygian iſland, perhaps, ſays he, Gadir; and that therefore it was but two generations before the Trojan war: and that this is that Neptune, who with Apollo, or Orus, fortified Troy with a wall, in the reign of Laomedon,

Laomedon, the father of Priamus, and left many natural children in Greece, ſome of which were Argonauts, and others were cotemporaries with the Argonauts; and therefore he flouriſhed but one generation before the Argonautic expedition, and, by conſequence, about four hundred years before Solon went into Egypt: but the prieſts of Egypt in thoſe four hundred years had magnified the ſtories and antiquity of the gods ſo exceedingly, as to make them nine thouſand years older than Solon, and the iſland Atlantis bigger than Afric and Aſia together, and full of people; and becauſe in the days of Solon this great iſland did not appear, they pretended that it was ſunk into the ſea, with all its people: thus great was the vanity of the prieſts of Egypt in magnifying their antiquities!

So much for Sir Iſaac Newton; I ſhall now obſerve, that the calculation already mentioned by Uſher, excels every one yet; and that there is no occaſion to ſuppoſe the increaſe of mankind ſo much, as even the loweſt calculation.

Uſher's calculation is nearly eight times as much as Petau's, or as eight to one: but Petau is almoſt fourteen thouſand times greater than Cumberland, and Cumberland almoſt twice that of Whiſton's.

Now, Uſher's ſeems out of all proportion, and Petau's too much exaggerated; and indeed Whiſton's, though ſo much inferiour in numbers, yet he appears to be the moſt probable calculator: for the preſent number of inhabitants on the earth, are ſuppoſed to be about 4,000,000,000 of ſouls (3): and Mr. Whiſton, by the ſame calculation, that he makes the inhabitants ninety-five years after the flood to be only two thouſand and forty-eight, computes the number in four thouſand one hundred years after the flood, which was about the year of Chriſt one

(3) Dr. Nichol's Conference, Part 1. p. 75, 76.

thouſand

thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-two, to be 4,294,967,296; which is but a trifling difference, in compariſon of the others.

	Years.	Calculators.	Souls.
Increaſe of Mankind in the year of the flood.	102	Uſher	777,210
	100	Petau	98,304
	100	Cumberland	6,000
	95	Whiſton	2,048

Now, conſidering there were but eight people, the increaſe to two thouſand and forty-eight ſouls in ninety-five years, according to the loweſt computation, is, in my opinion, rather too extravagant: but this I muſt ſubmit to every reader's judgment; but ſhall conclude, that even agreeing with Mr. Whiſton, it was but one third part of two thouſand and forty-eight ſouls, which were the deſcendents from the eldeſt line, the Celtes, which gives ſix hundred and eighty-two multiplied by two. How can we then reconcile it to ourſelves, that mankind could have migrated ſo faſt, and in ſuch numbers, as to people the furtheſt verge of Spain in theſe early days I have been treating on, without the art of navigation: I therefore conclude as I begun, that the Africans (Phutians, from Phut) and Phœnicians were the firſt people who ſet footing on this part of Spain; but that in proceſs of time, the Celtiberians obliged thoſe people inhabiting the coaſts, and about the Straits, of Gibraltar, to call the Carthaginians to their aid.

CHAP. IX.

OF THE ISLE OF CADIZ, AND THE CITY; TEMPLE OF HERCULES, AND OTHER ANTIQUITIES; OF HERCULES, ETC.

THE city of Cadiz I have proved to have been very ancient, whether conſidered as built by the Carthaginians, or by the Phœnicians; at leaſt we are ſure the magnificent temple preceded their

PLAN OF THE CITY OF CADIZ

Wells

S.t Roque's Bastion

S.t Roq.e

St Roque's Parade

Barracks

St. Salvador's Bast.n

St. Hellena Bast.n

Grey Stair Bast.n

St. Domingo

Negro Bast.n

Great Church Bast.n

The Great Church

Capuchin's Bast.n

The Grand Square

The Mole

Bast.n of the Cross

The Harbour

St. Augustin

Scale of Spanish Yaras.

100 200 300 400

Scale of Toizes.

20 40 60 80 100

St. Anthony's Bast.n

St. Francis

St Anthony's Square

St. Phillip's Bast.n

Powder Magazine

'HE OCEAN

s Bast.n

yres Bast.n

St. Catharin's Bas.n

Gate of St. Sebastian

St. Pa uls Bast.n

St. Pe ters Bast.n

Fort

Isle of St. Sebastian

Castle of St. Catharine

Royal Hospital

Powder Magaz.

Barracks

Tho.s Kitchin Sculp.

GR III
BRITISH MUSEUM

their countrymen, the Carthaginians, many centuries. The paſture of the iſle was anciently very rich; and if we may believe a traveller (1), who writes, that the ſoil produced ſo rich a paſture, that the cattle died of fatneſs within thirty days, unleſs they were let blood; and, ſays he, to ſpeak the truth, the whole province is ſo exuberantly rich, that in the time of the Carthaginians, before the firſt Punic war, it was a temptation to thoſe invaders to make war againſt it.

This iſland by father Mariana's account was ſeven hundred paces from the continent, and had three hundred leagues circumference; but what he means by this extravagant deſcription, is beyond this author's comprehenſion, who ſays, that though he had often paced it round to examine if there were any footſteps of ſo unlikely a compaſs, he could never find any; for at that day, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and five, it was no more than three leagues about: and the river, which parted it from the continent, was ſo narrow, that a bridge of ſix arches croſſed over it: that this city was the Urbs Gaditarri of the Romans, and one of their magazines for furniſhing their tranſports in their maritime expeditions.

The city, continues this French traveller, is not extraordinary large, but full of people; the churches, convents, and private houſes magnificent.

The fortifications were none of the beſt, and that part fronting the ſouth, naked, but on the angle they had built a ſmall fort into the ſea, called St. Sebaſtian, which may prevent a deſcent in that quarter. The front to the bay was well walled, loaded with braſs cannon, where the merchants walked in the evenings: that the neck of land between the two ſeas, had been lately fortified, which to this gentleman ſeemed impregnable, and where the earl of Eſſex and Sir Walter Raleigh made their famous deſcent, and in

(1) Vid. an account of Spain, publiſhed by a French gentleman in the year 1705.

one

one day ſacked this wealthy city, and laid it in aſhes: that at a mile's diſtance, ſtands the caſtle of Puntal, a ſmall well built garriſon, but then ill armed, and more negligently guarded, made uſe of to lay up the plate and money, which, contrary to the ſtatutes of their country, they provided for the Genoeſe, and other ſhips which went there for that purpoſe.

This caſtle, with that oppoſite in the bay, made ſome reſiſtance when the earl of Eſſex invaded them: but that they were ſo ſmall, that he was not twelve hours in reducing them, they not being above a cannon's ſhot aſunder, would, in this traveller's opinion, prove hard for a man of war to ſail between, if they were well garriſoned.

They had three gates, which were opened and ſhut every evening and morning, and each of them were guarded by the officers of the cuſtoms; but ſays, he thinks they made little uſe of them but to that purpoſe, nor that effectually: for nothing was more common than to run goods on ſhore, and carry money out, either by ſtratagem, or connivance of ſome of the officers: at the ringing the oration bell, the gates were all ſhut, and the keys carried to the governour.

The firſt and principal is Puerto de la Sevilla, becauſe the boats, which trade to Seville, lie before it.

The ſecond is Puerto de la Mar, becauſe the captains and maſters generally land from their ſhips.

The third is Puerto de la Tierra, becauſe it is the key which opens to the iſland.

When the oration bell rung, the evening prayer was performed with great devotion; not but that it was obſerved, more or leſs, in all catholic countries; but at Cadiz it was done with ſuch ſeverity, that not one perſon, let him be who he would, in the ſtreets, though the weather was never ſo bad, but falls down on his knees in the dirt, on the very place he ſtood, and in that poſture gives up his thankſgivings for the mercies of the day.

When

When this is over, the city is on all ſides ſhut, and it is then impoſſible to get out: that throughout the world, ſays this gentleman, the houſes of the Jeſuits excell all others, and ſo much did that in Cadiz exceed all that he had ſeen of the ſame foundation: and the reaſon of their grandeur was, that they admitted none into their habit, but perſons of the higheſt quality, who generally carried all the beſt part of their eſtates, which they dedicated to the monaſtery: that in Cadiz they had ſuch prodigious revenues, that in a year of ſcarcity in the ſaid city, the Jeſuits undertook to ſupply that populous place with proviſions of all kinds for twelve months out of their own magazines.

This Portus Gaditanus, ſo well known through the whole world, is the common retreat of the galleons that came from the Indies to Spain; which is by the Spaniards called their fac totum.

Charles the fifth had ſuch an opinion of the importance of it that he included it among the three, whoſe preſervation he ſo ſtrongly recommended on his death-bed, to his ſon Philip the ſecond; the other two were Fluſhing in Zealand, and la Goulette, near Tunis in Africa.

When Julius Cæſar viſited the temple of Hercules on this iſle, wherein was a ſtatue of Alexander the Great, he ſhed tears, when he recollected the great actions Alexander had performed before he was thirty-three years old, while he had as yet performed nothing remarkable.

The emperour Charles the fifth took for his motto the two pillars of Hercules, but inſtead of the nihil ulterius, which had been before written on them, Charles put plus ultra, further on, ſince being maſter of South America, he could boaſt of having carried his conqueſts further than Hercules.

Here is, ſays my author (2), a ſpring of ſweet water cloſe to the ſea, notwithſtanding it flows and ebbs like the ocean: and

(2) Curious Antiquity, by P. L. Berkenmeyer.

one day ſacked this wealthy city, and laid it in aſhes: that at a mile's diſtance, ſtands the caſtle of Puntal, a ſmall well built garriſon, but then ill armed, and more negligently guarded, made uſe of to lay up the plate and money, which, contrary to the ſtatutes of their country, they provided for the Genoeſe, and other ſhips which went there for that purpoſe.

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The ſecond is Puerto de la Mar, becauſe the captains and maſters generally land from their ſhips.

The third is Puerto de la Tierra, becauſe it is the key which opens to the iſland.

When the oration bell rung, the evening prayer was performed with great devotion; not but that it was obſerved, more or leſs, in all catholic countries; but at Cadiz it was done with ſuch ſeverity, that not one perſon, let him be who he would, in the ſtreets, though the weather was never ſo bad, but falls down on his knees in the dirt, on the very place he ſtood, and in that poſture gives up his thankſgivings for the mercies of the day.

When

When this is over, the city is on all ſides ſhut, and it is then impoſſible to get out: that throughout the world, ſays this gentleman, the houſes of the Jeſuits excell all others, and ſo much did that in Cadiz exceed all that he had ſeen of the ſame foundation: and the reaſon of their grandeur was, that they admitted none into their habit, but perſons of the higheſt quality, who generally carried all the beſt part of their eſtates, which they dedicated to the monaſtery: that in Cadiz they had ſuch prodigious revenues, that in a year of ſcarcity in the ſaid city, the Jeſuits undertook to ſupply that populous place with proviſions of all kinds for twelve months out of their own magazines.

This Portus Gaditanus, ſo well known through the whole world, is the common retreat of the galleons that came from the Indies to Spain; which is by the Spaniards called their fac totum.

Charles the fifth had ſuch an opinion of the importance of it that he included it among the three, whoſe preſervation he ſo ſtrongly recommended on his death-bed, to his ſon Philip the ſecond; the other two were Fluſhing in Zealand, and la Goulette, near Tunis in Africa.

When Julius Cæſar viſited the temple of Hercules on this iſle, wherein was a ſtatue of Alexander the Great, he ſhed tears, when he recollected the great actions Alexander had performed before he was thirty-three years old, while he had as yet performed nothing remarkable.

The emperour Charles the fifth took for his motto the two pillars of Hercules, but inſtead of the nihil ulterius, which had been before written on them, Charles put plus ultra, further on, ſince being maſter of South America, he could boaſt of having carried his conqueſts further than Hercules.

Here is, ſays my author (2), a ſpring of ſweet water cloſe to the ſea, notwithſtanding it flows and ebbs like the ocean: and

(2) Curious Antiquity, by P. L. Berkenmeyer.

that in the neighbourhood of Cales, there is a plant which has a very remarkable quality, it fades upon the riſing of the ſun, but reſumes its former ſtrength and verdure when it ſets.

This city of Cadiz was ſeverely bombarded by the Engliſh and Dutch, in one thouſand ſeven hundred and three.

Another traveller tells us, that the iſland of Cadiz is eighteen miles long, and three miles over (3), in the broadeſt place; and is joined to the continent by the famous bridge Puente de Suaço, built firſt by the Romans, and great part of it rebuilt by Charles the fifth. It is ſeven hundred feet in length, and there was a grand road to Cadiz over this bridge, quite from the Pyrenean mountains; for not only the adoration that was paid to the Egyptian Hercules drew an infinity of people thither, from all parts of the continent, but alſo the peculiar delights and beauty of the city of Cadiz were ſufficient to attract mankind to that place, which Strabo affirms to be ſecond to no city but Rome in the whole empire; and conſequently muſt have been adorned with every kind of public edifices in the moſt ſumptuous and magnificent manner: and the archbiſhop of Santo Domingo, in his Itinerary, ſays, that he ſaw a grand amphitheatre there, beſides many other noble monuments of antiquity; among which, many curious inſcriptions are recorded by Gruter, and ſeveral Spaniſh authors, one of which, being extremely ſingular and ſhort, ſeems to demand a preference to the reſt, and is as follows:

" D. M. S.
" SI LVBET, LEGITO:
" HELIODORUS INSANVS CARTHAGINIENSIS AD EXTREMVM ORBIS
" SARCOPHAGO TESTAMENTO ME HOC JVSSIT CONDIRI, VT
" VIDEREM, SI ME QVISQVAM INSANIOR AD ME VISENDVM
" VSQVE AD HVNC LOCVM PENETRARET."

(3) Account of the moſt remarkable places, &c. in Spain and Portugal, by Udal ap Rhys.

i. e.

i. e. "D. M. S.

"If you pleaſe, read:

"Heliodorus, a Carthaginian madman, ordered me, by his will,
"to be put into this Sarcophagus, at the extreme part of the
"globe, that I might ſee whether any one more mad than my-
"ſelf would come as far as this place to ſee me."

There are many parts of the Roman way (above-mentioned) to the temple of Hercules yet viſible, but more eſpecially in the neighbourhood of Cadiz, where it is known by the Mooriſh name el Arrezife, or the cauſeway; and the Ancients mention it as a conſular work. The temple of Hercules was ſo immenſely rich, that Mago, the Carthaginian general in Spain, carried on the ſecond Punic war againſt the Romans, chiefly upon the ſtrength of the gold and ſilver, which he took from thence; however, it was ſo plentifully ſupplied again with freſh offerings, by the time that Julius Cæſar defeated Pompey's ſons at Munda, that he took prodigious treaſure from it.

The figure of this temple is upon ſome very ancient coins that have been found at Cadiz.

There are likewiſe ſome remains of an aqueduct in the iſland of Cadiz, which is ſuppoſed to have been built in order to ſupply this temple with water. The vaſt ciſterns, into which it was conveyed, were partly extant in the days this author wrote, i. e. one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-nine, near the Puerto de Tierra, and the hermitage of St. Roque. Some workmen, when digging holes for ſalt-pits, made the firſt diſcovery about one hundred years ago.

The magnificent amphitheatre before-mentioned was pulled down by one of the ancient marquiſes of Cadiz (of the houſe of Leon) to build the caſtle.

Other monuments of antiquity were likewiſe there in great number before the plunder of Cadiz in fifteen hundred and ninety-ſix, by the Engliſh, when abundance of fine ſtatues and fine marble were thrown down, and broken to pieces by the ſoldiers and ſailors in the eagerneſs of their ſearch after more portable treaſures; beſides, the city was burnt down.

Among theſe they mention a Coloſſean trunk in armour, exquiſitely wrought, and ſuppoſed by ſome to have been a part of Alexander's ſtatue, which was the only one that was permitted to have a place in the temple: (beſides two that were dedicated to the Egyptian Hercules;) which ſtatue of Alexander was the ſame that had given ſo remarkable a ſpur to Julius Cæſar's ambition.

There was alſo among the plunder a moſt beautiful ſtatue of a young Bacchus, who was the favourite deity, next to Hercules, of the Andaluſians, or the people of Bætica, where he is reckoned among the kings that preceded Hercules, and is probably the ſame with Oſiris. Silius Italicus has an eye to this tradition in the following lines:

Tempore, quo Bacchus populos domitabat Iberos,
Concutiens thyrſo, atque armatâ Mænade, Calpen (4).

i. e. at the time when Bacchus brandiſhing his Thyrſus, and with his armed ſhe-prieſts, ſubdued the Iberians and Calpe, i. e. Carteians, for the city was called Calpe Carteia, four miles north-weſt of the celebrated Mons Calpe, one of Hercules's pillars.

This city, called Gades, ſtands in as advantageous and ſingular a ſpot as could be wiſhed or imagined; it is inacceſſible on ſome ſides by rocks, and on others by ſands, and well fortified every where. It has one of the largeſt and ſecureſt bays in the world, and it is the centre of trade: it is crouded with merchants of all nations. The city looks extremely beautiful from the bay; for

(4) Lib. III.

the houſes being very high, and appearing conſiderably above the baſtions and the city walls, and thoſe houſes adorned with high towers, in order to look into the ſea, produces a variety that is grand, new, and elegant: but the proſpect to the ſea is ſtill more delightful; for there you ſee a noble bay of nine miles diameter, diverſified, and enriched with the ſhips of all nations, whoſe variety of colours and poſitions afford amuſement for the eye's repoſe.

In the middle of the city, there is a good ſquare, and their buildings are very well, though not remarkable; the moſt wealthy merchants having their beſt houſes and warehouſes at Port St. Mary's, about three leagues on the other ſide of the bay, near which place there are a great many good gardens, and conſiderable plantations of fruit trees.

The cathedral is handſome, and the tabernacle belonging to it coſt one hundred thouſand crowns: its firſt inhabitants were Phœnicians, and they were ſucceeded by the Carthaginians, who, after a long conteſt, gave way to the Romans.

The city ſtood upon more ground formerly than it does now; for the remains of old buildings are ſtill to be ſeen under water, when the tide is low: for this place, in the time of the Ancients, muſt neceſſarily have been more extenſive, or it could not have contained the numbers recorded to have been in it: for, in the time of Auguſtus, there were no leſs than five hundred Roman knights. Their immenſe riches were attended with ſuitable luxury, ſo that the ladies of pleaſure that were bred at Cadiz, were looked upon to be the moſt elegant, gay, free, attracting, and polite; and to have underſtood the art of making a gallant happy, the beſt of any women in Europe, and conſequently they were in high requeſt, and extremely valuable.

About twelve miles from the city, ſtood the celebrated temple, dedicated to the Egyptian Hercules, where it is ſuppoſed he was buried, and which place is now called St. Petre, and tradition makes

him

him the founder of the city. In this temple were two braſs pillars, each of which was eight cubits high, upon which was written in Phœnician characters an account of the ſums of money expended in building the temple; and that they are ſuppoſed to have been the true Hercules's pillars.

When monſieur Mocquet viſited this city in one thouſand ſix hundred and fifteen, miſtaking the place where the pillars were erected, he ſays they were compoſed of tin, gold, and ſilver, mixed together: that the city was celebrated for the ſalt-pits, and almadraves, or the fiſhing for tunny: that in the fields was an old ruined tower, which the Spaniards then called the tower of Hercules, which, ſays he, was not far diſtant from the Straits.

The cauſeway to Cadiz, muſt have been a noble Roman road, for it reached from Salamanca to Cadiz (5); paſſing through Merida and Seville, to the diſtance of above three hundred miles. The latter part of it, from Corduba through Ezija to the ſea, was finiſhed in the eleventh conſulate of Auguſtus, as appears by the following inſcription (6):

IMP. CAES. DIVI. F. AVGVSTVS. PONT.
MAX.
COS. XI. TRIBVNIC. POTEST. X.
IMP. VIII.
ORBE MARI ET TERRA PACATO.
TEMPLO
JANI CLVSO ET REP. P. R. OPTIMVS.
LEGIBVS
ET SANCTISSIMIS INSTITVTIS
REFORMATA.
VIAM SVPERIOREM COS. TEMPORE
INCHOATAM

(5) Clarke's Spaniſh Nation, Letter II. p. 206. (6) See Mariana, p. 49. Udal ap Rhys, p. 122.

ET MVLTIS LOCIS INTERMISSAM PRO
DIGNITATE
IMPERII P. R. LATIOREM LONGIOREM
QVE
GADEIS VSQ. PERDVXIT.

This road was afterwards repaired by the emperor Adrian, as is plain from a third inſcription found in its neighbourhood, i. e. Corduba.

IMP. CÆSAR
DIVI TRAIANI PAR-
THICI F. DIVI NER-
VAE NEPOS TRAIA-
NVS ADRIANVS
AVG. PONTIF. MAX.
TRIB. POT. V. COS.
III. RESTITVIT.

At Cadiz, ſays Dr. Clarke, there are ſome fine pictures of Morellio, particularly an altar-piece, from whence he fell, and loſt his life. There are great Roman remains and inſcriptions in the high church, and bits of columns every where ſerving as threſholds and poſts: in the corner of one houſe they have ſtuck into the wall the remains of a conſular toga, and have added to it an head painted red and white, and a green laurel crown: in one convent there is a ſarcophagus, with curious marble bas-reliefs: it is now a ciſtern, and the good fathers have ſtuck two braſs cocks into the bellies of two water-nymphs, who are hence forward condemned to a perpetual diabetes. They diſcovered lately, i. e. one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-three, a beautiful column, which, to prevent trouble and expence, they buried carefully again. The place is plainly a mount, made up of ruins, ſo that they can hardly ſtir the ground, but the rubbiſh turns up ſomething curious.

There

There are ſome Roman inſcriptions at Medina Sidonia; this place was built by the Phœnicians, and had a temple in it to Hercules.

To conclude, Cales, Cadiz, Gades, Gadir, Gadira, was originally built by the Phœnician, Egyptian, and Theban, or, if you will, Tyrian Hercules; for they were one and the ſame, after he had founded Carteia. It was Hercules who ſet up the firſt two pillars of ſtone; and ſoon after the Tyrian colony was planted there, who, in the courſe of their natural commerce, finding it a convenient ſituation to extend their trade, protect their navigation, and confirm their power, built and ſettled here a city, which took its name from the iſland, and erected that famous temple, which firſt incloſed the two pillars. When Pygmalion ſent thoſe rich donatives, the inhabitants ſtill retained ſome notion of the divine attributes, as is plain from the words of Hiram, king of Tyre, upon the birth of Solomon. The deſecrated worſhip was not properly introduced till Dido diffuſed it from Carthage to Gades; who flouriſhed in Pygmalion's days, her brother of Tyre; about nine hundred and thirteen years before Chriſt, and confirmed by thoſe conſecrated gifts her brother ſent to that famous temple. Though it is plain, that the Tyrians were falling into idolatry, even in Hiram's reign; whoſe commencement was in the year of the flood one thouſand three hundred and two, and before Chriſt one thouſand and forty-ſix. He dedicated a golden pillar to Jupiter, and alſo built two temples, one to Hercules, another to Aſtarte; and beautified them with rich donatives. To Hercules he alſo erected a ſtatue, and is ſaid to have repaired the temples of other gods, and enriched them with offerings to a very great value (7).

This temple, in proceſs of time, was reſorted to by the heathen world, from all parts of Aſia, Africa, and Europe; for the re-

(7) Menand. Epheſ. & Dius, apud Joſeph. ubi ſup.

ligion

ligion of the Carthaginians was of a very groſs and multifarious idolatry.

The Tyrians and Carthaginians ſuppoſed Hercules to preſide over gold, ſilver, and all ſorts of treaſures; on which account he was held in high veneration in the iſland of Thaſus (8), where a Phœnician colony being planted, they diſcovered ſome gold mines. The Thaſians adored him with the ſame ſolemnity as the people of Tyre, and had a brazen ſtatue of him ten cubits high, with a club in his right hand, and a bow in his left; in which manner they undoubtedly repreſented him both at Tyre and Carthage (9). The Pelaſgi (1), originally Phœnicians, vowed him the tenths of every thing they had (2), on account of a great ſcarcity of grain under which they once laboured. The Carthaginians for a conſiderable time never failed ſending to Tyre the firſt of their revenues, nor the tythe of the ſpoils taken from their enemies, as offerings to Hercules, the protector of Tyre and Carthage (3). Public diverſions were inſtituted in honour of him at Tyre, which they celebrated every four years (4). At Carthage, no doubt, the ſame cuſtom prevailed, as likewiſe that of offering (5) annually human victims up to him: all which cuſtoms were undoubtedly practiſed at Gadira.

Varro mentions forty-five heroes who bore the appellation of Hercules; but the oldeſt of them ſeems to have been the Tyrian or Carthaginian Hercules.

We cannot, ſays the Univerſal Hiſtory (6), help being of opinion, that the Phœnician or Tyrian Hercules was the ſame with the Egyptian. It appears from Philoſtratus (7), that the Egyp-

(8) Vid. Wolfgang. Lazium in Græc. Ant. lib. I. c. ii. (9) Idem ibid. Niderſl. Melita vetus & nov. lib. II. c. vi. (1) Strabo. Herodot. Dionyſ. Halicarn. Epiphan. Boch. Salmaſ. Grot. Univ. Hiſt. Vol. VI. p. 139. note (D) and Vol. XVII. B. IV. c. xiii. p. 81. (2) Dion. Halicarn. lib. I. (3) Polyb. in excerp. legat. (4) Maccab. & Theodoret. lib. ſemeſt. ſerm. III. c. ii. (5) Plin. lib. XXXVI. c. vi. (6) Vol. XVII. B. IV. c. xiii. p. 282, note (W). (7) Philoſt. in vit. Apollon. Tyan. lib. V. c. i. p. 211.

tian Hercules, as well as the Theban, that is, the Phœnician, were worſhipped in the ſame temple at Gadira or Gades; that there were no ſtatues erected to either of them there; that the temple was adorned with the twelve labours of Hercules, finely wrought; which muſt naturally have pointed at both of them; that the golden olive of Pygmalion, king of Tyre, (a Phœnician) bearing Smaragdine fruit, of wonderful workmanſhip, was kept in this temple.

Biſhop Cumberland proves (8), that the Phœnician Hercules was a Phœnician king in Egypt; that he found out the purple dye, which is of Phœnician extraction; and that he built the temple on the iſland near the Straits, to which he gave the Phœnician name Gadira.

Laſtly, Sir Iſaac Newton renders it evident (9), that the Hercules called Melcartus, who was king of Carteia, had the temple at Gades conſecrated to him, as Philoſtratus intimates the Egyptian Hercules had (1); and that this Hercules was a Phœnician: from whence it may rationally be ſuppoſed, that the Phœnician Hercules and that of Egypt were the ſame.

The word itſelf is to be ſought for from the eaſt, ערקל yercol, or ercol, ſignifying ſwift and ſinewy, or ſtrong, being probably the original. That this Hercules was upon the coaſt of Africa, and according to Oroſius, built Capſa there (2). Biſhop Cumberland imagines him to have been called Aſſis or Aziz, that is, the ſtrong, as well as Ercor or Hercules (3). Africanus and Euſebius give him the name of Archles (4). It is probable he was elected king or general of the Phœnicians, on account of the great glory he had acquired (5).

(8) Cumberland on Sanchoniath. p. 159, 160, in Orig. p. 113, 114, &c. Vid. Palæphatum Ægyptium apud Chron. Alex. & Maneth. apud Euſeb. in Chronic. p. 352. (9) Newton's Chronol. p. 111, 112, 113, 114, &c. (1) Philoſtrat. ubi ſup. (2) Oroſ. lib. v. c. 15. Flor. lib. iii. c. i. Salluſt. in Jugarth. (3) Cumberl. Orig. p. 113. & Maneth. apud Joſeph. cont. Apion. (4) African. & Euſeb. in Chronic. Herodot. in Euterp. &c. (5) Newton's Chronol. p. 111.

The

The Tyrians, ſays Juſtin and Oroſius, who had founded the city of Gades, and built a temple to Hercules, were ſo moleſted by the jealous Spaniards, that they were forced to ſend to Carthage for help; which being readily granted, Meſeus was ſent with a fleet to their aſſiſtance, who ſuppreſſed their enemies, and enlarged their territories, by the reduction of ſeveral conſiderable places along that coaſt (6). The richneſs of the country ſoon invited them to purſue their conqueſts; and the vaſt treaſures, both in gold and ſilver, with which that country then abounded, could not but be a ſtrong temptation to them (7), as they were engaged in ſuch a bloody and expenſive war with the Romans. This was accordingly performed with great ſucceſs at firſt, by their great general Hamilcar Barcas in the year of the flood two thouſand one hundred and nineteen, and before Jeſus Chriſt two hundred and twenty-nine; and afterwards by his ſons Aſdrubal and Hannibal, the latter of whom he took with him thither, when but nine years old, that he might inſpire him with greater hatred againſt the Romans, and with a more eager deſire to complete the reduction of this opulent country, to the ſubjection of Carthage. But it would be rather foreign to my plan, to relate the occaſion of the firſt rupture between Rome and Carthage, which happened in Sicily. Let it ſuffice, that the Carthaginians, when the war firſt broke out between their republic and that of Rome, were poſſeſſed of extenſive dominions in Africa; had made conſiderable acquiſitions in Spain; were maſters of Sardinia, Corſica, and all the iſlands on the coaſts of Italy; and had extended their conqueſts to a great part of Sicily.

The above Hamilcar, having completed all his military preparations, advanced with a powerful army to Abyla, the pillar of Hercules on the African ſide, oppoſite to the other in Spain called Calpe, between which runs the Fretum Herculeum: this Strait he croſſed, and landed in Spain without oppoſition. He began the

(6) Juſtin. ex Trog. lib. ult. (7) Diodorus Siculus, lib. VI.

operations by incurſions into the enemy's country, fixing his head quarters at Gades, now Cadiz, the capital of the Carthaginian acquiſitions in Spain.

According to Diodorus Siculus, after his landing in Spain, he reduced the city of Tarteſſus, and gave a memorable defeat to Iſtolatius, general of the Celtes and Iberians, putting a great number of his men, together with himſelf and his brother, to the ſword. Many of the Celtic nobility likewiſe periſhed in the action. Out of the priſoners, Hamilcar ſelected three thouſand, whom he incorporated in his own troops: but Indortes, one of the Celtic or Iberian general officers, collecting the remains of the army, and receiving a conſiderable reinforcement, aſſembled a body of fifty thouſand men, with which he intended to have given Hamilcar battle: which in the end proved his ruin, for his army was either cut off, or obliged to ſurrender at diſcretion.

The reader muſt not be ſurpriſed to find ſuch bodies of Celtiberians at this period, when he conſiders, that it is two thouſand years ſince the flood: a time, full ſufficient to people Spain quite to the Calpeian mountain. It plainly appears, that the Carthaginians held only the iſland of Cales or Gadir; as Hamilcar was obliged to reduce the ancient city of Tarteſſus, which, with Carteia, was long before wreſted out of the Tyrians power; for after this, Hannibal was obliged to reduce the latter: and Medina Sidonia, with the temple of Hercules, were taken from them by theſe Iberians long before. However, that hero, Hamilcar, commanded in Spain nine years, and, during that interval, ſubdued many warlike nations there, but was at laſt killed; and Aſdrubal was choſen to ſucceed him; a pupil of Hamilcar, under whom he had ſerved ſeveral campaigns. He built the new city Carthage, now Carthagena.

Aſdrubal made great progreſs in Spain, but was checked by the Romans: and a treaty was concluded between them. Hannibal ſucceeded Aſdrubal. As to this great man's actions, I ſhall refer

my

my readers to the hiſtory of thoſe times. I ſhall only here obſerve, that the temple of Hercules was then frequented, and that ancient god of Tyre held in great eſtimation: for Hannibal having received intelligence, that the Gauls were ready to join him in his march to Italy, and before diſcharged his vows made to Hercules at Gades, as well as engaged himſelf by new ones there, provided ſucceſs attended his arms in the enſuing expedition, he immediately put himſelf in motion.

While Hannibal was in Italy, Cneius Scipio, with rapid ſucceſs carried every thing before him in Spain; and upon the fame of his exploits, Livy ſays, an hundred and twenty different cantons of Spaniards ſubmitted to the Romans, who penetrated as far as the Saltus Caſtulonenſis: Aſdrubal retiring before them into Luſitania, and thoſe parts of Spain bordering upon the ocean; Scipio, as I have already ſaid, muſt have been in poſſeſſion of Gibraltar bay, becauſe Lælius commanded the Roman fleet that was at Carteia. But, as the Carthaginian power is drawing to an end in Spain, I ſhall be a little more particular: after Aſdrubal's departure for Italy, Hanno was ſent to ſucceed him in Spain: the body of troops this general brought from Africa, in conjunction with that commanded by Mago, the other Carthaginian general, formed a conſiderable army: however, Scipio defeated them, and took Hanno priſoner. Mago, with the cavalry, and a good part of the veteran infantry, made his eſcape, and, ten days afterwards, joined Aſdrubal, the ſon of Giſco. Theſe two commanders, with their united forces, continued for ſome time in the neighbourhood of Gades (8).

After this, Scipio complimented his brother Lucius Scipio on his reducing the city of Aurinx, on the confines of Lower Bætica, which was a great loſs to the Carthaginians. However, Scipio finding the ſeaſon far advanced, and that he could make no

(8) Liv. Lib. xxviii. ſub init. Appian in Iberic. Eutrop. lib. iii. c. xx. Oroſ. lib. iv. c. xviii.

impreſſion upon the province in which Gades was ſeated, ſince Aſdrubal had placed numerous garriſons in all the fortreſſes there, ſuſpended the military operations till the following ſpring, when Mago, the ſon of Hamilcar, and Aſdrubal, the ſon of Giſco, were the Carthaginian generals who commanded in Spain. Theſe two commanders, in the ſpring, moved from Gades, where, it is probable, they had fixed their winter quarters, with an army of fifty, or, as others will have it, ſeventy thouſand foot, and four thouſand five hundred horſe. They ſought for, and found the Romans, a battle enſued, and the Carthaginians were defeated by Scipio. Aſdrubal did his utmoſt to animate his men, but they were defeated, and purſued to their camp, which had then been taken, had not a violent ſtorm cooled the ardour of the victors, and put an end to the action (9).

The night after the battle, Aſdrubal cauſed his camp to be ſtrengthened by ſome additional works, as expecting the next day another viſit from the enemy. In the mean time, Attanes, regulus of the Turditani, with a conſiderable body of troops, went over to the Romans. Many other reguli followed this example; and two fortreſſes of note ſurrendered to Scipio, who made their garriſons priſoners of war. As the victory lately gained by Scipio had entirely alienated the minds of the Spaniards from the Carthaginians, Aſdrubal thought proper to abandon his camp, and retire with precipitation towards the ocean, though he had juſt before ſo haraſſed his wearied and hungry troops, in order to render his camp inacceſſible to the enemy. Scipio, being informed of this, immediately detached his cavalry after the Carthaginian general, who ſo galled him in his retreat, that the legionaries at laſt came up with him, and, after a faint reſiſtance, put all his men, except ſeven thouſand, to the ſword. However, theſe, with Aſdrubal at

(9) Polyb. lib. II. Liv. lib. XXVIII. c. xii.—xvi. Appian in Iberic. S. Jul. Frontin. Strat. lib. II. c. i. ex. 1. & lib. II. c. iii. ex. 4. a lib. LII. c. ix. auctor. ſup. laudat.

their head, gained an advantageous poſt; where, for ſome time, they defended themſelves, till at laſt Aſdrubal, finding them to deſert in great numbers, abandoned them, and made his eſcape to Gades. In the mean time Silanus, whom Scipio had left, with a detachment of ten thouſand foot, and a thouſand horſe, to block up the enemy's troops in the port above-mentioned, found means to draw Maſſiniſſa, their commander, off from the Carthaginian intereſt. Mago, after the example of Aſdrubal, flying to Gades, the remainder of the African forces either gradually diſperſed themſelves in the neighbouring provinces, or deſerted to the Romans. Maſſiniſſa, after his late conference with Silanus, by the connivance of that general, paſſed over into Africa, with ſome of the leading men of the Maſſyli, in order to diſpoſe that nation to ſecond his views. However, this was done in ſuch a manner, as not to give any umbrage to the Carthaginians, nor induce that crafty people to entertain the leaſt ſuſpicion of the meaſures he was going to purſue (1).

Maſſiniſſa, to ſerve more effectually the party of which he intended ſoon to declare himſelf in favour, made but a ſhort ſtay in Africa. Having prevailed on his ſubjects to concur with him in the execution of the project he had formed, he haſtened to Gades, to confer with Mago and Aſdrubal about the future operations. Silanus likewiſe retired with his body of forces to Tarraco, where Scipio had fixed his head quarters. Scipio ſoon afterwards paſſing into Africa with two quinqueremes, perſuaded Syphax, king of the Maſæſyli to abandon the Carthaginians, and enter into an alliance with Rome. Aſdrubal was then at Syphax's court, and did his utmoſt to traverſe the negociation carried on betwixt the two powers, but without effect. The three chief cities of Spain, beſides Gades, in alliance with, or ſubject to, Carthage, were Illiturgis, Caſtulo, and Aſtapa.

(1) Liv. ubi ſup. c. xv, xvi. Polyb. lib. II. c. xxi.

Illiturgis

Illiturgis the Romans took by ſtorm, levelled it with the ground, and put all the inhabitants to the ſword. Caſtulo, in which was a Carthaginian garriſon, compoſed of the fugitives that eſcaped the carnages in the late defeats, was betrayed by one Cerdubellus to Marcius, and Hamilco, the commandant, with his whole corps, made priſoners of war. Marcius then paſſing the Bætis, which the Spaniards called Cirtius, poſſeſſed himſelf of two opulent towns, which ſurrendered at his approach. From thence he advanced to Aſtapa; and, after a warm diſpute, made himſelf maſter of it. In the mean time, Mago, having received a reinforcement from Africa, as well as ſome Spaniſh troops levied by Hanno, made the proper diſpoſitions for carrying on the war with vigour, notwithſtanding the melancholy ſituation of his affairs. A body of Roman forces, encamped upon the Sucro, during theſe tranſactions, mutinied; a report of Scipio's death, that was induſtriouſly propagated, occaſioning that commotion. But the mutineers being, by a ſeaſonable puniſhment inflicted upon ſome of their ringleaders, brought back to a ſenſe of their duty, Marcius attacked four thouſand of the enemy encamped upon the Bætis, under the command of Hanno, forced their camp, and either took or killed the greateſt part of them. The alliance with Syphax was a point of great conſequence to Rome, though it was not effected without ſome difficulty; Scipio firſt ſent Lælius, with five quinqueremes, to make propoſals to that prince, which he ordered him to back with magnificent preſents. Lælius executed his commiſſion with great dexterity, putting Syphax in mind of the advantages he had reaped from a former alliance with the Romans. Notwithſtanding which, Scipio found himſelf obliged to viſit in perſon that prince's court; where, by his uncommon addreſs, as Livy writes, he defeated the intrigues of Aſdrubal, and put the laſt hand to the treaty (2).

(2) Idem, ibid. Vid. Liv. ubi ſup. c. xvii—xxxi.

Soon

Soon after the reduction of Aſtapa, ſome deſerters arrived at Gades from Scipio's camp. Theſe fugitives promiſed that general, not only to deliver the city, together with the Carthaginian garriſon and commandant, into his hands, but likewiſe to make him maſter of the enemy's whole fleet riding at anchor in the harbour there. Scipio therefore detached Lælius with a body of light armed troops, aſſiſted by a naval force of one quinquereme, and ſeven triremes, to put the conſpirators in motion. In the mean time, the conſpiracy being diſcovered to Mago, before it was ripe for execution, he took care to ſeize the principals of it, and ſent them on board a quinquereme, in order to tranſport them to Carthage. Aſdrubal, the Carthaginian admiral, ordered the captain of this veſſel, as I have already ſaid, to precede the reſt of the fleet, he himſelf following at a ſmall diſtance with eight triremes. Upon his approach to Carteia, he deſcried Lælius's ſquadron coming out of that port. The Carthaginian could not, for ſome time, determine whether or no it would be proper for him to attack the Romans. But this ſtate of ſuſpenſe gave Lælius an opportunity of coming up with him, which obliged him to hazard an engagement; in which being worſted, he made the beſt of his way towards the coaſts of Africa, with only five triremes. However, Lælius miſſed his aim, ſince Mago had taken care to give him a proper reception, if he had advanced to Gades; of which being apprized by the priſoners, he returned to Carteia: from thence he diſpatched an expreſs to Marcius, who was moving with a powerful corps to ſupport him, to inform him of what had happened. Both theſe commanders, therefore, judging the ſiege of Gades too difficult an enterprize to be undertaken at preſent, laid aſide that deſign, and, in a ſhort time, rejoined Scipio at New Carthage (3).

(3) Idem, ut ſup.

The diſappointment which the Romans had met with in their deſign upon Gades, together with the rebellion of the Ilergetes, and revolt of the legionaries above-mentioned, gave Mago hopes, that he ſhould ſtill be in a condition to make head againſt the enemy. He therefore wrote to Carthage for a ſpeedy reinforcement, aſſuring the ſenate, that if they would be active and expeditious at this juncture, they might recover what they had loſt in Spain. To excite them to make a vigorous effort, he greatly exaggerated the misfortunes of the Romans, giving a melancholy account of the dangers that threatened them. In the mean time Mandonius and Indibilis, being offended at the Romans for not ceding to them the countries they had conquered, and encouraged by the report of Scipio's death, pillaged the territories of the Sedetani and Sueſſetani, allies of Rome. Hearing afterwards of Scipio's ſeverity to the ringleaders of the revolting legionaries, who were Romans, they concluded, that Spaniſh revolters muſt be excluded all hopes of pardon. Animated therefore by deſpair, they aſſembled a numerous army of Celtiberians, and advanced againſt Scipio. That general, moving at the head of his forces with great celerity towards them, at laſt found them poſted in a plain ſurrounded on all ſides by mountains, and ſcarce capable of containing ſuch a number of men. Having ſecured the defile leading into this valley, he detached Lælius, with the cavalry, to take a compaſs round the hills, and attack the enemy in rear, whilſt he charged them in front with the legionaries. This diſpoſition being made, Scipio attacked the reguli, and gave them a total overthrow, putting almoſt their whole army to the ſword (4).

After this the proconſul marched with part of his troops towards Gades, the only city of Spain in the Carthaginian intereſt. His chief deſign in this journey was to have an opportunity of conferring with Maſſiniſſa, who had ſhut himſelf up in that city

(4) Idem.

with

with Mago, and was impatient to have a conference with the Roman general. For though Silanus and Maſſiniſſa had ſettled the preliminaries, yet, by ſeveral intervening accidents, the concluſion of a treaty betwixt the Numidian and the Romans, was deferred to this time. The chief obſtacle to the ſigning of it was, that Maſſiniſſa could find no opportunity of having an interview with Scipio, which he ardently deſired. Scipio being informed of this, and that Maſſiniſſa was at Gades, took a journey thither, with a good eſcort, purely out of a deſire to have a conference with him. Maſſiniſſa, receiving intelligence of this from Marcius, prevailed upon Mago to ſend him, with a detachment from the iſland of Gades, to ravage the neighbouring part of the continent; which enabled him to confer with Scipio. Every thing being afterwards ſettled to the mutual ſatisfaction of both parties, Maſſiniſſa, in order to blind Aſdrubal, plundered ſome part of the adjacent country, and then returned to Gades (5).

In this excurſion, Maſſiniſſa, the Numidian prince, met Scipio, and entered into an alliance with Rome, adviſing the proconſul to paſs over into Africa, and lay ſiege to Carthage itſelf, which, he ſaid, would be eaſily reduced. The treaty being concluded, the proconſul returned to Tarracon, and Maſſiniſſa to Gades. Soon after, Mago received orders to leave Gades, and haſten with all his forces to the aſſiſtance of Hannibal in Italy. That he might be enabled the more effectually to ſuccour Hannibal, he received a large ſum of money to make levies in Gaul and Liguria. Before he left Gades, he not only obliged the citizens to bring all their wealth, but alſo plundered their temples. As Mago was coaſting along Spain in his way to Italy, he formed a raſh deſign of ſurpriſing New Carthage; but loſt in the attempt eight thouſand men, and was repulſed. From thence he ſailed to the iſland Pityuſa, where he met with a kind reception, receiving a plentiful

(5) Liv. Polyb. Appian. Zonar. ubi ſup.

ſupply of proviſions, and a good number of recruits. Then he ſteered his courſe to the largeſt of the Balearic iſlands, that had a commodious haven; where endeavouring to put in, he was attacked by the natives in ſo violent a manner with their ſlings, that he found himſelf obliged to ſheer off with conſiderable loſs. However, proceeding to Minorca, that was extremely fertile, though not ſo populous and powerful as the other, he entered the port, landed his men, encamped in a place of great ſtrength, and poſſeſſed himſelf of the whole iſland without oppoſition. As the ſeaſon was far advanced, he wintered here; to which he was the more ſtrongly induced by the good diſpoſition of the natives, who expreſſed all imaginable zeal and affection for the Carthaginians, ſupplying him, during his ſtay amongſt them, with a body of two thouſand men. However, he, from the whole Balearics, forced ten thouſand of the inhabitants into the ſervice of his republic. But the people of Gades ſhut their gates upon Mago after his repulſe at New Carthage; for which affront he whipped and crucified their ſuffetes, who were ſent to excuſe that conduct to him. The Gaditani therefore ſurrendered to the Romans, who were now become maſters of all Spain: this was in the year of the flood two thouſand one hundred and fifty-five, before Chriſt one hundred and ninety-one, and of Rome five hundred and fifty-five; for the year following, Scipio was choſen conſul, which was in the five hundred and fifty-ſixth of Rome.

Suetonius, in the life of Cæſar, ſays, that in his office of quæſtor, Spain fell to his lot; where, when by commiſſion from the prætor, he was going the circuit of the province for the adminiſtration of juſtice, and was arrived at Gades, upon ſight of a ſtatue of Alexander the Great, in the temple of Hercules, he fetched a ſigh; and as if deeply concerned at his former inactivity, becauſe nothing memorable had as yet been done by him, at an age, at which Alexander had conquered the world, he immediately ſued for his diſcharge, in order to lay hold upon the firſt opportunity,

that

that might preſent in the city, for greater achievements. And upon his being much diſturbed at a dream the night after, wherein he fancied he laid with his mother, the interpreters of dreams filled him with mighty hopes, pretending that the empire of the world was thereby promiſed him; ſince the mother, he had ſeen thus ſubjected to him, was no other than the earth, the common parent of all men.

Cæſar was appointed to the government of Further Spain, in the year before Chriſt ſixty-one, becauſe the firſt of the triumvirate was in the ſixtieth, before that æra: Further Spain comprehended Luſitania and Bætica, that is, Portugal and Andaluſia, which fell to his lot; after his prætorſhip, he was preparing to ſet out for his new province; but being ſtopped by ſome of his creditors, Craſſus, to whom he applied, took upon him to ſatisfy thoſe creditors, who would be put off no longer, and became his ſecurity for eight hundred and thirty talents, that is, one hundred and ſixty thouſand eight hundred and twelve pounds ſterling. Upon this, Cæſar being at liberty to go to his government, ſet out without delay. In his journey, as he was paſſing the Alps, he paſſed by a ſmall village, which had but few inhabitants, and thoſe wretchedly poor; which gave occaſion to ſome of his friends to aſk him by way of raillery, whether there was any canvaſſing there for offices, or any contention among the Barbarians who ſhould be uppermoſt? To this queſtion Cæſar anſwered very ſeriouſly, "That he had rather be the firſt man among thoſe poor "Barbarians, than the ſecond in Rome." It is eaſy, ſays my author, to imagine, that Cæſar, with theſe ſentiments, could not continue idle in this province. To find work there, he made war on the innocent Spaniards, and advancing as far as the ocean, ſubdued ſeveral nations, which had never before been ſubject to Rome.

Having ſettled his province in peace, he returned to Rome, carrying with him ſufficient ſums to diſcharge his debts, which amounted

amounted to ſixteen hundred thouſand pounds ſterling; ſo great was his extravagance and profuſion.

Plutarch writes, that while Cæſar was on his journey to Gades, as he was one day reading the hiſtory of Alexander the Great, he appeared very thoughtful, and at laſt burſt out into tears, anſwering his friends, who aſked him the reaſon of his grief, "Do you "think I have not juſt cauſe to weep, when I conſider, that Alex- "ander, at my age, had conquered ſo many nations, while I have "yet done nothing that is memorable?"

Whether this and the former is not one and the ſame ſtory, I ſhall not take upon me to determine; though it is not at all improbable, but that he might have twice expreſſed vaſt uneaſineſs at his own ſituation: the firſt upon reading Alexander's life, and ſecondly, upon ſeeing the ſtatue of that prince; when his hiſtory brought the actions of that hero, with the perſon in the ſtatue, to his view.

The ſituation of Gades was ſo advantageous for the ſea trade, that it drew upon the Tyrians, in proceſs of time, as I have ſhewn, the envy of other nations, that vied with them either in power or trade: and thus it ſucceſſively was forced to yield to the greateſt power among the nations. And as the Phœnicians, Babylonians, Egyptians, Phocians, Rhodians, Greeks, Carthaginians, Romans, and ſince them, the Goths and the Moors have poſſeſſed it alternately: there perchance would have been no place in the world ſo full of all ſorts of antiquities of ſo many different nations, had not the ignorance of the Spaniards, and the common fate of war, plunder, rapine, and deſtruction, robbed us of their greateſt part. For, after it had been made a free or municipal city by the Romans, and was, under them, grown to ſuch a height of grandeur, as to have five hundred Roman knights at one time in it, which no other city could boaſt of, except Padua. The mercileſs Moors, having conquered Spain, and divided it into ſeveral kingdoms, demoliſhed it, by common conſent, that it might not remain a

perpetual

perpetual bone of contention amongſt them: and thus it remained, till recovered by the Chriſtians, who ſoon reſtored it to its preſent dignity.

In one thouſand four hundred and eighty four, don Ferdinand meditated the ſiege of Malaga, but it was poſtponed till one thouſand four hundred and eighty-ſix: it was then one of the ſtrongeſt and beſt peopled places remaining to the Moors; but an attempt being made to corrupt Hamet Zegri, who commanded a large body of Barbary Moors, in the ſtrong caſtle of Gibralfaro, which commanded the town; Hamet anſwered, "That he was hired "to defend the place, and he would never betray it; and that he "hoped this anſwer would procure him favourable treatment, in "caſe he ſhould be compelled to ſurrender, after the beſt defence "he ſhould be able to make (6)."

This city was inveſted completely both by land and ſea on the ſeventh of May, not without very conſiderable loſs on both ſides. The Chriſtians continued the ſiege with vigour for a long time, and the Moors defended themſelves with great ſpirit and patience. In the mean time, Mohammed Al Zagel collected all the troops he could, in order to afford them ſuccours; but he had ſcarce marched them out of Guadix, before they were attacked by Muly Abul Abdali, by whom the beſt part of them were cut in pieces (7). Upon this, he ſent a preſent of ſeveral horſes with rich furniture, with ſome pieces of cloth of gold and ſilk, to their catholic majeſties, Ferdinand and Iſabella, adviſing them to be very careful in preventing any ſort of proviſions from being carried into the place, where famine would ſoon force them to yield; and aſſured them, that when they were maſters, as ſome ſay, of Almeria, Baza, and Guadix, they might depend upon his putting Granada into their hands (8). A deſperate Moor, however, was very near ſnatching

(6) Hernando Del Pulgar, Garibay, Ferreras. (7) Luc. Marin. Sicul. Mayerne, Turquet, Mariana. (8) Luc. Marin. Sic.

this

this conqueſt out of their hands. He came out of Malaga in the night, and, going to the firſt guard of the Chriſtian army, demanded to be carried to the marquis of Cadiz. When he was brought to him, he preſſed to ſee their majeſties, to whom he ſaid he would diſcover the means of entering the town. The marquis did not regard him much; but thoſe who were about him carried him to the king's quarter, and brought him to the tent of donna Beatrix de Bobadilla, who was playing at draughts with don Alvaro of Portugal. The Moor, ſeeing donna Beatrix very richly dreſſed, made no doubt but ſhe was the queen, and that the perſon playing with her was the king; upon which, drawing his ſcymitar, he diſcharged a blow with all his force on don Alvaro's head. Donna Beatrix fainting and falling down, another blow, that he aimed at her, reached no farther than her ſleeve; and, before he had time to ſtrike a third, he was diſpatched by thoſe who were in the place (9). The king was aſleep, but the queen, being in the next apartment, hearing the noiſe, came out, and was an eye-witneſs of this ſhocking ſcene. At length Malaga would have capitulated; but the king refuſed any other terms than ſurrendering at diſcretion; to which they were at laſt forced to ſubmit, and the town was accordingly ſurrendered on the eighteenth of Auguſt (1). By this means many thouſands were made ſlaves, ſome of the nobility having a hundred, others fifty, for their ſhare, beſides thoſe that were ſent as preſents to the kings of Portugal and Naples (2). About the cloſe of September their majeſties returned to Cordova, and went afterwards to ſpend their winter at Saragoſſa. So fell Malaga to the Chriſtians, in fourteen hundred and eighty-ſeven (3).

The laſt war between the Chriſtians and the Moors in Spain, was commenced and compleated under the victorious arms of

(9) Anton. Neb. & al. (1) Hernando del Pulg. Ferreras. (2) Bernaldez, Garibay. (3) Mod. Univ. Hiſt. Vol. xxi. B. xix. c. i. p. 175, 176.

Ferdinand

Ferdinand and Iſabella, in the year of Chriſt one thouſand four hundred and ninety-one, in the reduction of the city and kingdom of Granada: which city, ſays Mariana (4) by reaſon of its ſituation, largeneſs, fort, walls, and bulwarks, ſeemed impregnable. On the weſt ſide of it is a large plain about fifteen leagues in compaſs, pleaſant and fruitful, as well of its own nature as by reaſon of the blood that had been there ſhed for many years, which made it fat: beſides that thirty-ſix ſprings running down from the mountain Elvira, where formerly ſtood the city Eliberis, as appears by the name Elvira. The ſnowy mountain called Sierra Nevada, lies on the ſouth ſide of it, and runs down as far as the Mediterranean ſea. The ſides of it are not ſteep or craggy, and are therefore cultivated and well peopled. The city itſelf is ſeated partly upon the plain, and partly upon two hills; betwixt them runs the river Darro, which, as ſoon as out of the city, mixes with and loſes its name in the river Zenil, that runs quite acroſs the plain in length. The walls are very ſtrong, there being upon them one thouſand and thirty towers at diſtances, that are very beautiful for their number and good ſtructure. Formerly it had ſeven gates, now twelve. It cannot well be incloſed all round, becauſe of its great extent, and the unevenneſs of its ground.

Towards the plain where the acceſs is eaſieſt, it is fortified with towers, and bulwarks: in that part ſtands the cathedral, then a moſque, but nothing curious or beautiful. It is held in great veneration by all the neighbouring people, and famous not ſo much for its riches, as the number and piety of clergy belonging to it.

Near this church is the great market place, called Bavarambla, two hundred feet in breadth, and ſix hundred in length. The buildings are in a ſtrait line; the ſhops and ſtreets about the ſquare, beautiful.

(4) Vid. Hiſt. Spain. Vid. Deſcription of Granada.

Of two caſtles that belong to the city, the chief lies betwixt the eaſt and weſt, encompaſſed with a wall of its own, and ſtands above the other buildings. It is called Alhambra, that is, red, from the colour of the earth about it, and is ſo big, it looks like a city. In it is the royal palace, and monaſtery of St. Francis, the burial place of the marquis de Ynigo de Mendoça, the firſt governour of it.

King Mahomet Mir laid the firſt foundation of this caſtle; other kings continued the work, and was at length finiſhed by king Joſeph Bulhagix, as appears by the Arabic inſcription over the gate on a marble ſtone; ſignifying the work was finiſhed by that king in the year one thouſand three hundred and forty-ſix of Chriſt, and of the Mooriſh account, the Hejira, one hundred and forty-ſeven.

This ſame king built the caſtle of Albaizin, oppoſite to this caſtle: and between them lies the city. The ſuburbs called Chuna, and the ſtreet De los Gomeles, is on the ſide of the Alhambra. On the other ſide, is the ſtreet Elvira, and the aſcent of Zenete moſt ill contrived, the ſtreets narrow and crooked, becauſe the Moors were not at all curious in their houſes.

Without the city, is the royal hoſpital and monaſtery of St. Heirome, the ſumptuous burial place of Gonçalo Fernandez, called the great captain. It is reported the city contained ſixty thouſand houſes, a number ſcarce credible. What is moſt to be admired, is what is found of pope Clement the fifth's, being informed by the ambaſſadors of king Jayme the ſecond of Arragon, aſſuring him, that of two hundred thouſand ſouls, then living in Granada, ſcarce five hundred were children and grand-children of Moors. In particular, they ſaid there were fifty thouſand renegados, and thirty thouſand Chriſtian ſlaves.

At preſent it is certain there are in that city twenty-three pariſhes, and chapels of eaſe. But, ſays my author, it is hard to tell the number of inhabitants. And it is alſo certain, that

in

in the time of the Mooriſh kings, the revenue of that kingdom was ſeven hundred thouſand ducats, a great ſum for thoſe times, but credible, becauſe of the heavy taxes: all men paid the ſeventh part of what they were worth. If any Moor died, without any children, the king was his heir; if he left heirs, the king had as good a ſhare as any of them.

When I travelled into Spain with colonel William Denny, late governour of Pennſylvania, I drew a plan of the Alhambra, and particularly deſcribed that caſtle, palace, and city; but unluckily thoſe deſcriptions, plans, with many manuſcripts, maps, plans, views, curioſities, and a choice library, chiefly collected for my Phœnician hiſtory, were burnt on the firſt of November, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-five, with all the apparel of my family, and the whole furniture of my houſe, commonly called Vaux-hall, by the inhabitants of New York, on account of the ſtamp act.

A late author gives us the following account of this city (5): "It ſtands, ſays he, at the foot of a moſt noble ridge of barren "mountains and rocks, which ſtretch round on each ſide, in ſuch "a manner as to embrace a lovely plain, which is varied with "plantations, gardens, and villages: had it but a river, like the "Guadalquivir, nothing could exceed it, unleſs it were an "Engliſh proſpect of the Thames from Cliefden, or the Trent "from Clifton."

The Al-Hambra, at Granada, is built on a high hill, which over-looks the city and the valley, containing many grand apartments, all in the Mooriſh ſtyle, with alcoves, domes, fountains, Arabic inſcriptions, &c. beſides which there is a part built by Charles the fifth, but not finiſhed. The front is handſome for this country, and the apartments are built round a very beautiful circular court, with thirty-two fine marble columns below, and as many above in a gallery. Not far from it, there is a delicious

(5) Clarke's Spaniſh Nation, Letter xi. p. 208, and publiſhed ſince I was in that country.

garden of the Mooriſh kings, called the Gnihalariffee, with all kinds of trees, flouriſhing upon a ſteep-hanging rock, and as much water as ſupplies numberleſs Jet-d'eaux and fountains. The rides round the city are delightful.

I mention this place, being the laſt from whence the Moors were driven; as the hill of Gibraltar was the firſt place they poſſeſſed themſelves of, to build a caſtle and town for their ſecurity and reſidence.

THE HISTORY OF THE HERCULEAN STRAITS.

BOOK II.

CHAP. I.

OF AFRICA, MAURITANIA, TINGIS, ANTÆUS, ATLAS; OF THE CANAANITES; OF CEUTA, ABILA; AND OF THE STRAITS.

I MUST now croſs from Spain over the Straits of Gibraltar into Barbary; the Mauritania Tingitana, from Tingis, or Tingi, the metropolis, and a city of great antiquity.

According to Mela, Solinus, and Pliny, Antæus, cotemporary with Hercules, and conquered by him, laid the firſt foundation of it.

Antæus and Atlas were one and the ſame perſon, and the ſon of Neptune; and therefore Neptune was the firſt prince of this country: all which carries us back to the days of Abraham; becauſe Hercules flouriſhed, and overcame Antæus in Africa, and the Geryons in Spain, about the fifth century. After this, the Gergeſites, Jebuſites, and other Canaanitiſh nations, or tribes, erected a caſtle in Tingis, but the city was built by Neptune's ſon Atlas, or Antæus. The oblique caſes of the word Atlas, to wit (1), Atlantis, Atlante, &c. are apparently compounded of

(1) Univ. Hiſt. Vol. XVIII. B. IV. c. XV. p. 202. note (A).

the

the names Atlas, or Atal, i. e. tall, lofty, &c. and Ante, Antæus, which is a preſumptive proof, that they both belonged to the ſame perſon, and conſequently, that Atlas and Antæus were the ſame king of Mauritania: the word Atal anſwers very well to the ſtature of Antæus, according to Pliny and Plutarch (2).

Plutarch writes, that the Africans reported to Sertorius, that Antæus was buried in Tingis, a giant of a wonderful ſtature; but Sertorius being unwilling to truſt common fame, which gave out that his body was of a moſt prodigious length, cauſed his ſepulchre to be opened, where he found his corpſe of an amazing length; he was exceedingly aſtoniſhed, and immediately offered up ſacrifices to the gods, and cloſed up the tomb again, whereby he confirmed the report of the inhabitants, increaſed the fame of the ſepulchre, and added new honours to the fame of Antæus: that the Africans further alledge, that after the death of Antæus, his wife Tinga lived with Hercules, and had a ſon by him called Sophax, who was king of theſe countries, and gave his mother's name to this city, whoſe ſon alſo was Diodorus, a great conqueror, who ſubdued many other regions, and brought the greateſt part of Africa under his ſubjection with an army of Greeks, which he raiſed out of the colonies of the Olbianians and Myceneans, placed here by Hercules. I mention, ſays Plutarch, theſe paſſages for the ſake of king Juba, the moſt excellent hiſtorian of any prince that ever yet had honoured hiſtory with his own pen, and who numbers for his progenitors a long race of Mauritanian kings, who derive their genealogies from Diodorus and Sophax, and are lineally deſcended from Hercules (3).

Among the curioſities of Mauritania, where are ſeveral remarkable ruins of Roman antiquities ſtill remaining, is a narrow deſcent of many fathom deep, a few miles from Tangier, which leads into a ſort of cave, from whence are paſſages into ſubterranean apart-

(2) Cumberl. in Sanch. p. 727. Pliny, lib. v. c. ii. Plut. in Sertor. (3) Plut. in Sertorius, Vol. v. p. 136, 137.

ments,

ments, deſigned undoubtedly by the Ancients as repoſitories for their dead, there being found in them many urns and ſtatues with Punic inſcriptions upon them.

Some have imagined, that Antæus was buried in the cave; and a vulgar report prevailed, that the cave went quite under the Straits to St. Michael's cave on the weſt ſide of Mons Calpe, which ſhall be treated on in due time.

I find there was a ſmall iſland called Gezira, or rather Jezeirah, in the river Lixus, that empties itſelf into the Atlantic, to the ſouthward of Tangier, about three leagues (according to Marmol and Leo) from the ſea, and thirty from the city of Fez. Pliny writes, that, in his time, this iſland abounded with olives, and intimates, that the Ancients placed the gardens of the Heſperides here: he further relates, that there was an altar, ſacred to Hercules, ſtill remaining in it when he wrote. Aldrete believes that this iſland, by the frequent inundations of the river, was, in proceſs of time, laid entirely under water, and at laſt converted into that lake called by the Spaniards Laguna Grande, or the great lake, a little above the city and harbour of Larache.

I ſhall only mention, that the Inſulæ Beatæ, or Fortunatæ, of Statius Seboſus, Juba, Pliny, and Strabo, are the Canary iſlands, and are ſeven in number, ſituated in the ſame parallel with the ſouthern parts of Mauritania, according to Strabo.

Homer's deſcription of them ſeems to point them out, without attention to thoſe authors too fond of their country, as to place them, where ſtern winter rather frowns than ſmiles:

Elyſium ſhall be thine; the bliſsful plains,
Of utmoſt earth, where Rhadamanthus reigns:
Joys ever young, unmix'd with pain or fear,
Fill the wide circle of th' eternal year.
Stern winter ſmiles on that auſpicious clime:
The fields are florid with unfading prime.

From

From the bleak pole no winds inclement blow,
Mould the round hail, or flake the fleecy ſnow;
But from the breezy deep the bleſt inhale
The fragrant murmurs of the weſtern gale.

Tangier is in 60° 30′ weſt longitude from London, and in north latitude 35° 56′. Tangier derived its name from the Phœnicians, who, with the Carthaginians, called it Tingir, Tiggir, Tagger, &c. which, in their language, ſignified an emporium: this region, as well as others to the eaſt of it, had many colonies planted in it by the Phœnicians. Procopius tells us, that, in his time, two pillars of white ſtone were to be ſeen there, with the following inſcription in the Phœnician language and character upon them: WE ARE THE CANAANITES, THAT FLED FROM JOSHVA, THE SON OF NVN, THAT NOTORIOVS ROBBER; and many authors follow Procopius in this reſpect. Procopius was ſecretary to the emperour Juſtinian, who came in partnerſhip with his uncle Juſtin in the five hundred and twenty-ſeventh year of Chriſt, and of Rome one thouſand three hundred and ſeventy-four, and of the flood two thouſand eight hundred and ſeventy-eight, and died in the five hundred and ſixty-ſixth of our redemption. Now the land of Canaan was divided by Joſhua in the year of the flood nine hundred and four, and one thouſand four hundred and forty-four years before Chriſt; which, reckoning from the very firſt year of Juſtinian's copartnerſhip, five hundred and twenty-ſeven of Chriſt, it will be found, that the Canaanites ſettled in Tangier, or near it, about one thouſand nine hundred and ſeventy-one years before Procopius viſited theſe pillars, and about four hundred years after the days of Hercules's flouriſhing over Atlas and the Geryons.

Theſe Canaanites fled to avoid the conquering arms of Joſhua; and this is what the learned Bochart has taken great pains to prove (4); and if Procopius ſaw thoſe pillars, there can be no

(4) Præfat. in lib. de colon. & ſermon. Phœnic.

doubt

doubt made but great multitudes fled from the conquering ſword of the Hebrew general, though not perhaps in ſuch large numbers, or on ſo many countries as Bochart ſuppoſes: and where is the improbability or wonder, ſays the Univerſal Hiſtory (5), that they ſhould flee from certain ruin, who were ſeated ſo near the Philiſtines not yet ſubdued, and from thence might eaſily embark themſelves in ſearch of more peaceable habitations. Beſides Procopius, there is Ibnu Rachich, or Ibnu Raquiq, an African writer cited by Leo, Euric's prime miniſter, who died in the year of Chriſt four hundred and eighty-four; and therefore about that time Leo wrote, about forty-three years before Procopius: alſo Evagrius and Nicephorus Calliſtus aſſert the ſame thing: the former lived in the year of Chriſt three hundred and ſeventy, &c. This city of Tangier is very near the Straits of Hercules, at the bottom of a gulf of the weſtern ſhore: but the cape Cotes, Cottes, or Ampeluſia, not far from Tingis, ſeven miles to the weſtward, as taken notice of by Mela, Ptolemy, and Strabo, and is by us called Cape Spartel, which with Cape Trafalgar on the coaſt of Spain, almoſt oppoſite, ſhape their ſhores together, towards the entrance of the Fretum Herculeum, the narroweſt part of which being between the lands about Tarifa in Spain, and the oppoſite ſhore in Barbary.

From Mela and Bochart it appears, that Cottes and Ampeluſia were words of the ſame import in the Phœnician and Greek languages, and that they were deduced from the grapes with which the promontory abounded.

The mountains oppoſite to Gibraltar, are, upon the projection of Africa, called Ceuta, the Septem Fratres of Mela, and the Heptadelphi of Ptolemy, almoſt contiguous to Abila, now Apes hill, a large unweildy mountain, retired ſome diſtance within the bowels of Mauritania.

(5) Univ. Hiſt. Vol. III. B. I. c. vii. p. 479. n. (A).

The firſt maritime town to the eaſtward of Tingis, ſeems to be the Exiliſſa of Ptolemy. Marmol takes the Ceuta of the Moderns to correſpond with this place; as it does likewiſe, in all probability, with the Septa and Arx Septenſis of Procopius. That author, together with Iſidorus Hiſpalenſis, and others, inſinuates this name to have been derived from the ſeven hills, called the Septem Fratres by Mela, in its neighbourhood. Exiliſſa, Septa, or Ceuta, was a place of great note and eminence in the time of the Goths; and is, ever ſince it has been in the poſſeſſion of the Spaniards, to the Moors, as Gibraltar is to the Spaniards, a place of envy, and what both Moors and Spaniards would be glad to recover: but as they are both impregnable, it is impoſſible for thoſe people to accompliſh their moſt ardent wiſhes.

The preſent town of Ceuta I place to the Goths; the Septa, built to the eaſtward, on a hill, one of the ſeven brothers, the Septem Fratres, near the end of this African peninſula, as may be ſeen by the remains of the walls and towers, now viſible, which encircle that hill, on the top of which is a ſmall watch, or look-out tower, where there is a centinel placed, to make ſignals of the motions of the Moors; from which place may be diſcovered all the country of Ceuta, the enemy's camp, traverſes they may make, the country of Barbary, the Straits, Gibraltar, Andaluſia, Mediterranean ſea, and mountains of Granada.

The more ancient town is twelve hundred yards S. W. of the Glacis on the iſthmus of Ceuta, between which, the Moors carry on their approaches, and keep the garriſon in perpetual blockade. This ancient village has been ruined long ſince, and ſituated in the bottom of a mountain, which ſpeaks its antiquity; and where ſtill remains ſome of the old walls. I refer the reader to the following plan.

As for Mons Abila, the Apes hill of the Moderns, I have almoſt ſaid ſufficiently of that in the firſt part of this work: I ſhall only obſerve, that it very juſtly took its name from its height, as

Aldrete

Aldrete and Bochart have evinced; for the mountains upon the Straits are nothing near ſo high; Calpe is not to compare with it, in this reſpect; and the Septem Fratres are but dwarfs to it. The Abila is a huge irregular mountain, or mountains huddled together, as it appears to the eye in the Calpe Carteian bay, now of Gibraltar, retired from the ſhore, and riſing in huge rugged maſſes. The ſnow lies a long while upon ſome parts of it in large patches, when the winters are ſevere: it has many deep indentures, that even in ſummer, throw large ſhadows from the perpendicular precipices into the retired hollows. There appear valleys and precipices from the baſe almoſt to the ſummit, part conſiſts of bare perpendicular rocks, and part bears trees; the mountain retires from precipices to levels, on many parts of it, and ſeems to agree with that beautiful and pictureſque deſcription, which Dr. Shaw gives of that remarkable chain of hills called mount Atlas, in the Mauritania, which, according to Oroſius, ſeparated the fruitful land from the barren, or in the ſtile of the natives, the Tel from the Sahara.

The doctor ſays, "That the part of this long-continued ridge "of mountains which fell under his obſervation, in height could "not ſtand in competition either with the Alps or Apennines: "he ſays, that if we conceive a number of hills, uſually of the "perpendicular height of four, five, or ſix hundred yards, with "an eaſy aſcent, and ſeveral groves of fruit and foreſt-trees, riſing "up in a ſucceſſion of ranges one behind another, and that if to "this proſpect we here and there add a rocky precipice of a ſupe-"rior eminence, and difficult acceſs, and place upon the ſide or "ſummit of it a mud-walled Daſhkrah, or village of the Kabyles, "we ſhall then have a juſt and lively idea of theſe mountains."

The reader muſt obſerve, that Abila ſeems to carry this appearance, though the mountain is more elevated, and the precipices higher, as they appear to the eye on Mons Calpe: for I do not pretend to deſcribe what I have not ſeen.

Nothing very remarkable happened in Mauritania Tingitana, from the death of Antæus to the Roman times, till the time of Sylla, when, on the firſt advantages gained by him in Italy, the brave Sertorius, who had been appointed by the Marian faction, prætor in Spain, retired thither to ſecure that country: his affable and obliging behaviour ſo gained the affections of the nobility and people, that all Spain declared for him. Sylla ſent Caius Annius with a powerful army againſt Sertorius, who waited for Annius at the narrow paſſes of the Pyrenees, which he did ſo effectually, that Annius, upon his arrival, finding it impoſſible to open himſelf a way into Spain, encamped at the foot of the mountains, in great perplexity, not knowing what courſe to take.

But Sertorius was at length driven from thence by Annius, retiring with three thouſand men to New Carthage, from whence he paſſed over to Africa, and landed in Mauritania; but while his men were ſtraggling about with too much ſecurity, the Barbarians fell upon them, and put many of them to the ſword. This new misfortune forced Sertorius to ſail back to Spain; but finding the whole coaſt lined with Annius's men, he put to ſea again, not knowing what courſe to ſteer. At ſome diſtance from the coaſt, he fell in with a ſmall fleet of Cilician pirates, who were cruizing between Africa and Spain, and having prevailed upon them to join him, in hopes of booty, he ſailed for the iſland of Pityuſa, now Yvica, where he made a deſcent, over-powered the garriſon placed there by Annius, and got a conſiderable booty. This flight advantage brought Annius in perſon upon him, with a great fleet, having five thouſand ſoldiers on board. Though Sertorius's fleet conſiſted of veſſels not built for ſtrength, but for lightneſs, he made ready to engage the enemy: but a violent ſtorm ariſing, moſt of the ſhips were driven againſt the rocky ſhore, and daſhed to pieces: Sertorius himſelf, with the ſmall remains of his ſhattered fleet, being prevented by the fury of the weather from putting to ſea,

ſea, and by the enemy from landing, was toſſed about for ten days together, being all that time, as the ſea ran very high, in great danger of periſhing with all his men.

As ſoon as the ſtorm was over, he paſſed the Straits of Gades, and landed near the mouth of the Bætis: there he met with ſome ſeamen newly arrived from the Atlantic, or Fortunate Iſlands, and was ſo taken with the account they gave him of thoſe happy regions, that being quite tired out with many fatigues and dangers both by ſea and land, he reſolved to retire thither, and ſpend his life in peace and quietneſs, far from the noiſe of wars, and free from the troubles of government. He no ſooner communicated his deſign to the Cilician pirates, than they abandoned him; and chooſing rather to rove about the ſeas in queſt of ſpoils and riches, than to live in peace and quiet, ſet ſail for Africa, to aſſiſt Aſcalis, king of Mauritania, againſt his rebellious ſubjects. Sertorius, who only entertained a faint deſire of a quiet and retired life, no ſooner heard of this new war in Africa, than he likewiſe reſolved to ſail thither, and join the enemies of Aſcalis: he loſt no time, but immediately put to ſea, and landing on the coaſt of Mauritania, marched directly againſt Aſcalis, defeated him in a pitched battle, and obliged him to take refuge in the city of Tongis, Tingis, now Tangier, which he cloſely beſieged. In the mean time, Pacianus, whom Sylla had ſent to aſſiſt the king, advanced againſt Sertorius at the head of a conſiderable army: upon which the brave general, leaving part of his forces before the place, marched with the reſt to meet Pacianus, whoſe forces, though far ſuperior to his own in number, he entirely defeated, ſlew the general himſelf, and took the whole army priſoners: after this victory, he not only reduced the city of Tingis, but made himſelf abſolute maſter of the whole country. Having thus delivered the oppreſſed Mauritanians from the tyrannical yoke of Aſcalis, he reſtored to them their eſtates, their cities, their laws, and their

privileges,

privileges, accepting only of ſuch acknowledgments as the people freely offered him (6).

However, his reputation flew croſs the ſea: the Luſitanians, being threatened with a new war from Annius, ſent and invited him into Spain: and putting to ſea, ſteered his courſe acroſs the Herculean Straits towards Luſitania: in his paſſage he happened to fall in with a Roman fleet, commanded by Cotta, but having forced his way through it, he arrived ſafe on the Luſitanian coaſt, landed his men, and marched ſtrait to mount Ballera, the place of the general rendezvous. I am not writing his life, it being foreign to my plan: I only mention the actions of this great man, on the Mauritanian and Spaniſh coaſts upon the ſhores of the Fretum Gaditanum, or Tingitanum. I refer the reader to Plutarch; Bogud too, who was cotemporary with Julius Cæſar, and his adopted ſon Octavius, contributed in conjunction with Publius Sittius not a little to Cæſar's great ſucceſs in Africa, and at Munda in Spain. He ſided with Anthony againſt Octavius, but was defeated by Bocchus, who took poſſeſſion of Tingitana. Octavius, or Auguſtus, afterwards confirmed this his acquiſition, and honoured the inhabitants of Tingis with the privileges of Roman citizens. After Bocchus's death, Tingitana was reduced to the form of a Roman province.

Auguſtus gave the younger Juba the two Mauritanias, and Claudius ſent thither a Roman army, which was the firſt that ever appeared in that country. Though they performed no exploits the firſt campaign, yet, as the enemy retired before them, the ſenate perſuaded Claudius to accept of triumphal honours for the ſucceſs of his arms in Mauritania.

The following year, Suetonius Paulinus, the Roman general, defeated the enemy, ravaged all the country as far as mount

(6) Plut. in Sertorius, Vol. v. p. 134, 135, 136.

Atlas,

Atlas, and penetrated into Gætulia; which, in Pliny's time, poſſeſſed a conſiderable part of Tingitana. Philoſtratus makes the Gætulians to have inhabited the interiour part of mount Abinna, or Abila, and conſequently, by intermixing them with the Mauruſii, allows ſome of them to have dwelt in towns, for the Gætulians generally dwelt in tents.

Sidius Geta, who ſucceeded Paulinus, gave Salabus, the Mauritanian general, two overthrows, and purſued him into the Sahara, or deſart: having been ſupplied here with water in a wonderful manner, when his troops were upon the point of periſhing. Geta concluded a peace with Salabus upon his own terms: it is thought probable, that by this treaty, Mauritania was delivered up entirely into the hands of the Romans, ſince it is found to have been ſoon after divided into two provinces, the one called Tingitana, or Mauritania Tingitana, from the city Tingis, and the other Mauritania Cæſarienſis, from Cæſar, a ſurname which Claudius had in common with the other Roman emperours. That prince appointed two Roman knights to preſide over theſe provinces: ſoon after, the Romans routed a body of Gætulians, that infeſted ſome parts of Numidia, and thereby reſtored tranquillity to all their African dominions. It is obſervable, that Auguſtus ſettled nine colonies, and Claudius three only here, which in a region of ſo vaſt an extent, could neither have ſufficient power thoroughly to ſubjugate the natives, nor influence to conciliate their affections to the Romans (7).

I ſhall embark for the rapid Strait of Gibraltar, and endeavour to explain the currents ſetting in, and running, though hardly perceptible, as high as Cape de Gate; and no higher up the Mediterranean, which has been looked upon as a ſtrange phænomenon.

The Philoſophical Tranſactions (8), treating of the currents at the Straits' mouth, communicated by Dr. Hudſon,

(7) Plin. lib. v. c. i. & alib. Dio. lib. XL. Aldret. lib. IV. c. xx. (8) Phil. Tranſ. Numb. cccIxxxv. p. 191.

give the following remarks: Cape Spartel, and Cape Trafalgar, from the weſtern ocean, are known to make the Straits' mouth, from whence a current in the middle of the channel (which is about five leagues broad) betwixt the Barbary and Spaniſh land, runs at leaſt two miles each hour, as far as Ceuta point; and there the two coaſts opening about eighteen leagues diſtant from each other, the current does not run above one mile an hour, and ſo continues as far as Cape de Gate, which is ſeventy leagues up the Mediterranean. Our mariners obſerve a current to ſet to the weſtern ſea, or the great ocean, from Ceuta, along the Barbary ſhore; and, from Gibraltar, along the Spaniſh ſhore; but that on the Barbary ſhore is generally their common rout, not only as being the moſt free from rocks and leſs dangerous, but by reaſon that the tide is much ſtronger than it is on the other ſide, which the ſooner helps the ſhips out of the Straits, which are the narroweſt betwixt the points of Gibraltar and Ceuta: at which laſt place, a neck of land extends itſelf a conſiderable way into the ſea; and it is this gentleman's opinion, and that of others, that whereas the current runs, as above-ſaid, two miles an hour againſt this neck of land, the water there meets with ſo violent an oppoſition in its paſſage, as occaſions it to rebound with ſo much force, that part of it returns back along the ſame coaſt, and ſo out of the Straits' mouth, which, with the ſmall tide that ſets out on the Spaniſh ſhore, it is believed, may exhauſt a conſiderable part of that current, which continually ſets in, to the eaſtward, at the rate I have already mentioned. What I look upon to be very remarkable, is that in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and twelve, monſieur de L'aigle, that fortunate and generous commander of the privateer called the Phœnix of Marſeilles, giving chace, near Ceuta Point, to a Dutch ſhip bound for Holland, he came up with her in the middle of the gut, or Straits, betwixt Tarifa and Tangier, and there gave her one broad-ſide, which directly ſunk her, all her men being ſaved by the means of monſieur

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de L'aigle; and a few days after, the ſunk ſhip, with her cargo of brandy and oil, aroſe on the ſhore near Tangier, which is, at leaſt, four leagues to the weſtward of the place where ſhe ſunk, and directly againſt the ſtrength of the current; which has perſuaded many men, that there is a recurrency in the deep water in the middle of the gut, that ſets outwards to the grand ocean, which, I think, this accident very clearly demonſtrates; and poſſibly, a great part of the water, which runs into the Straits, returns that way, and along the two coaſts, which I have already mentioned; otherwiſe, this ſhip of courſe muſt have been driven towards Ceuta, and ſo upwards. I was at Gibraltar, continues this gentleman, when this happened, where I ſaw above one hundred of the butts of that cargo of brandy, which were ſent thither from Tangier: I likewiſe ſpoke with the captain of the Dutch ſhip, who told the governour, myſelf, and many others, where his veſſel ſunk; and her riſing afterwards at Tangier, appeared very unaccountable to us, as it does to me to this day; for there is no doubt but the ſhip ſunk where the Dutchman told us, ſince the Spaniards from the land, who ſaw it, confirmed it to us. The water in the gut muſt be very deep, ſeveral of the commanders of our ſhips of war having attempted to ſound it with the longeſt lines they could contrive, but could never find any bottom.

Again: this rapid and conſtant indraught from the Atlantic ocean into the Mediterranean, (which I have been informed by experienced captains of ſhips) runs in, at the rate of four miles an hour: which current loſeth its ſtrength ſo at cape de Gate (ſo called, as father Mariana obſerves, from the many agates there found) as has afforded many conjectures: ſome imagining a conſtant current ſetting in without any return the ſame way, believing a communication from the Euxine to the Caſpian, which has a ſubterranean one into the Perſian gulf; and others ſay, into the Red ſea; whilſt there are thoſe who think, that there is an under current, which ſets out whilſt the upper one runs in: again, there

are ſome who believe, that the indraught returns back on each ſide of the main ſtream: for my part, I cannot pretend to give my opinion, becauſe, in the firſt place, it was out of my power to make any obſervations on the current, and in the next place, becauſe I never could get any ſatisfactory account from any ſeafaring men, or others: however, I find in the Univerſal Magazine for the month of July one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-three, a particular account of the tide in the Straits of Gibraltar, which hypotheſis I cannot help inſerting; although I muſt confeſs, that I adhere to the Miſcellanea Curioſa, as was preſented to the Royal Society by Dr. Halley, F. R. S. I begin, ſays this gentleman, in the magazine (9), with the pilot's obſervations on the tide in this Strait: "At Tangier and Tarifa, ſays he, a S. W. by "S. moon or V $\frac{1}{4}$: all the other parts of the Straits' mouth have "flood out of the weſt, which runs in from cape Spartel, and cape "Trafalgar on each ſide, along by the ſhore much ſtronger than "in the middle; to the eaſtward, as far as cape Cabrita, on the "Spaniſh ſide, and Apes hill on the Barbary ſide; and at theſe "two points, meets the flood that cometh out of the N. E. about "the point of Gibraltar, and runs S. W. into the Straits' mouth "all the firſt quarter flood; and the remainder of the tide, the "flood ſetteth from the point of Gibraltar towards cape Cabrita.

"At the top of high water, there cometh always out of the "weſt, between the two capes, a race of a current, which ſpreadeth the Straits' mouth from ſide to ſide, but continues on neither, "ſeldom longer than half an hour; but in the middle of the "Straits' mouth, the current runs to the eaſtward very ſtrong all "the tide of ebb; and the race of a current falleth always between "Apes hill, and cape Cabrita at a W. by S. moon; and at that inſtant begins the ebb, on the weſt ſide of thoſe two points, to "run to the eaſtward.

(9) Vid. Mar. Hiſt. Spain, lib. 1. c. ii. p. 2. Vid. Univ. Mag. for 1753, p. 25, 26, 27, 28.

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"The tide of ebb, on the Spaniſh coaſt, runs from cape Cabrita, "about two leagues broad from the ſhore, as far as the iſland of "Tarifa, and runs between the iſland and the main, all the ebb, "along by the ſhore, towards cape Trafalgar; but on the ſouth "ſide of the iſland the ebb runs very narrow, except it be in a "ſet of fair weather.

"The tide of ebb, on the Barbary ſide, runs from Apes hill, "but narrow along the ſhore, as far as the point of Alcaſar; but "on the weſt ſide point, athwart of the bay, the tide runs about "three miles broad; and at the cape Malabata, which is the eaſtern-"moſt point of the bay of Tangier, about two miles broad; and "ſo continues to the weſtward, out to cape Spartel; and from "thence the ebb runs S. W. along the ſhore towards Sallé.

"The ebb, to the eaſtward of cape Cabrita and Apes hill, is "begun by the aforeſaid race of current, which ſpreadeth from "the one ſide to the other, between Gibraltar and Ceuta point; "and runs in E. N. E. in the middle, from the point of Apes hill to "the point of Ceuta, along the ſhore, all the firſt half tide; and "the remaining half tide, the current runs from cape Cabrita, E. "S. E. into the Straits' mouth, by the point of Ceuta; and from "the point of Gibraltar, the firſt half ebb runs N. E. into them "towards cape Frangerola." Thus far the pilot's obſervations: his delineation of the Straits' mouth, with regard to its five-fold tract of currents, is, as I have deſcribed in the foregoing map; now, to inſpect this table of the tides, for the periods of their floods and ebbs, upon every line; firſt from the line *B*, to the African ſhore, the tide begins to flow eaſtward, at ten hours, and ebbs at the weſtward at four h. and from the line C, on the Spaniſh coaſt, it begins to flow to the weſtward at eleven h. and to ebb alſo to the weſtward at five h. yet between the offing lines TT on the one ſide, it flows not to the eaſtward till one h. and ebbs not to the weſtward till ſeven h. and between the offing lines OO on the other ſide, it begins not to flow to the eaſtward till

two h. nor ebbs to the weſtward till eight h. while the middle current ſtill flows to the eaſtward, at near the ſame height without intermiſſion. Seeing therefore all theſe floods and ebbs are ſtirred up and let fall again by the ſame flux and reflux of one ſingle wave, or tumour of the ſea, yet no two of either ſort being ſeen to riſe or ſubſide at the ſame time; the queſtion is, how they become ſo differently diſpoſed to reoppoſe its impulſe?

Firſt, then, The coaſting ſtreams, which firſt receive its influence, are beſt diſpoſed for that purpoſe, as having no ſpecial inclination of their own to reſiſt it, nor depth of water for any impreſſion to be made, but floating upon ſhallow and ſhoally bottoms, are eaſily ſtirred, and ſoon appeaſed, like ſhallow lakes, upon every wind that blows, or calm that ſhall happen, and ſo muſt take the firſt notice of any commotion.

On the contrary, the middle current having fall enough to direct its flux to the eaſtward, and channel of ten leagues to continue it the ſame; having alſo depth of water to roll forward, and the Atlantic ocean to keep it ſupplied to its full height, without impediment of coaſt or ſhore, to deflect its courſe, or leſſen its ſpeed, muſt ſuffer no dependence on the moon to hinder its precipitation; but the offing floods interpoſing between the two extremes, muſt partake of both by their mutual coherence; the inconſtancy of the one, ſo as to ebb and flow by lunar influence, and with all the ſteadineſs of the other, not to be wrought upon over haſtily; but as it is three hours later in receiving the tideal impreſſion, ſo to preſerve it as much longer; but yet as all theſe different motions being regulated by the tides at a ſix hourly revolution, ſo at every ſix hours end, to make, by a timely ebb, reſtitution: and

Firſt the pilots obſerve, That the coaſting ſtream, on the Spaniſh ſide, that begins to flow at eleven h. and ſhould continue ſo till five h. makes high water at Tarifa an hour and a half ſooner: Secondly, The coaſting tide, near the African ſhore, which begins

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to flow at ten h. and ſhould ebb at four h. continues running till five h. Thirdly, That the offing floods, which begin not to ſwell till one h. and two h. and ſhould flow till ſeven h. and eight h. yet fall with the general ebb, between cape Cabrita and Apes hill, at five h. Laſtly, That the tide from the N. E. both flows and ebbs to the weſtward out of the Mediterranean into the Atlantic, whoſe ſituation muſt be higher to give the middle current the quite contrary motion: now to reconcile the pilot's calendar to his obſervation, and both to truth, in the points aforeſaid.

Concerning the firſt point, to wit, That the tide which came from the N. E. and began to flow at eleven h. and boldly entered the Straits' mouth to S. W. at the dead ebb, for the firſt quarter of its flood; (till the remainder was deflected from the point of Gibraltar, to W. S. W. by the ſpringing weſtern tide, towards cape Cabrita, and thence to Tarifa) made high water there at two h. $\frac{1}{2}$ that is, two hours and a half before five h. when according to the pilot's tide table, it ſhould have begun its ebb: anſ. But the ſea was full at tide there, as the coaſting channel was ſtraiteſt; and withal an iſland objected to its courſe when its flux was moſt briſk, and had water enough to reſult at its firſt appulſe higher than the ſtream was able to maintain, after the energy of that puſh was over, though it continued to flow afterwards to its full time. The ſame tideal tumour that came from the N. E. makes alſo full ſea at Tangier on the oppoſite coaſt of Barbary, near the ſame time, having paſſed from Ceuta point, by Apes hill and cape Alcaſar, as far as cape Malabata, where the coaſt moſt ſtraitens, and rocks oppoſe it; and withal the weſtern flood occurs, to ſwell it as high at Tangier, as it roſe before at iſle Tarifa, yet with this difference, that the tide of ebb continued its courſe to the weſtward, beyond cape Trafalgar; whereas this eaſtern flood is borne to the eaſtward whence it came by the current out of the weſt, before it reaches cape Spartel towards the ocean, to complete its ſix hours ebb.

Secondly,

Secondly, It is obſerved, that the coaſting tide, on the African ſide, which begins to flow at ten h. and has but till four h. allowed it to its ebb by the tide table, yet continues running to the eaſtward till five h. at leaſt: anſw. That the firſt of the tide is carried to the eaſtward ſo far by the common current out of the weſt, while the hinder end of its flood is upon an ebb, after the ſaid allowance is expired; as ſea floods in freſh rivers ebb near the ſea, while they flow to the landward at a greater diſtance.

Thirdly, That the offing floods, which begin not to ſwell till one h. and two h. in the afternoon, and ought to flow till ſeven h. and eight h. at night, yet fall between cape Cabrita and Apes hill at five h. in the evening, with the general ebb of the weſtern flood, in all parts of the Straits' mouth, at once: anſw. Notwithſtanding this, they continue their flux to the eaſtward, to their ſtated terms of ſix hours a-piece, though they cannot re-advance the tide to that great height it had before, and they return not their ſtream of ebb till it be withdrawn by the tideal reflux of the ocean, which ſet it on foot ſo late, and was as long withdrawing its motion, which was done with equal difficulty both ways, and conſequently muſt be performed in the ſame ſpace of time.

Fourthly, That the aforeſaid N. E. tide both flows and ebbs along the Spaniſh ſhore perpetually to the weſtward, quite contrary to the middle current, which runs without any tideals ups and downs, as conſtantly to the eaſtward; and conſequently from the higher ſituation of the Atlantic, into the lower of the Mediterranean ſea, which ſeems to render the contrary motion of the tide impoſſible. To make thoſe oppoſite fluxes conſiſtent, it ſuffices that the Mediterranean flood advances above the Atlantic ebb, to convert their courſes; nor does the flux of the middle current intermix at low water, nor exceed when it is higheſt in the Atlantic, but obſerves the mean betwixt them, as the ſpout of a pump keeps to a conſtant ſtream, though the water in the tube riſes and falls at every ſtroke ten or twelve inches, yet the ſide ſtreams ſometimes

times exceed the ſpeed of the middle current, between cape Cabrita and the congreſs height. Hence it is obſerved,

Fifthly, That the tideal flood out of the weſt, runs more ſtrongly from betwixt cape Trafalgar and cape Spartel, than the middle current, which obſerves a mean between the higheſt flood and the loweſt ebb; and follows the ſhores of Spain and Barbary, till it meets the N. E. flood, between cape Cabrita and Apes hill, where they counter-ſwell each other, till the water is full through the Straits' mouth (Tarifa and Tangier excepted) till five h. that the Atlantic flood, which made high water on the promontories of Ireland, France, and Spain at three h. and filled their ports at four h. now reacheth the Straits' mouth, and fills all full at five h. and bears down the eaſtern ebbing, which dammed up their paſſage thitherwards all the while: till,

Laſtly, As this univerſal deluge came from all parts, and chiefly from E. or W. with a point or two of N. or S. ſo after the top of the tide has broken down the rampier of the tumour that withſtood it, a general puſh is made to the eaſtward; yet, after half an hour is over, it ebbs every way at once, from the utmoſt height: the middle flows eaſtward, the N. ſtream towards Gibraltar, and the ſouth to Ceuta point with freedom, without any deflection for the firſt half tide of ebb: but the remainder is driven by the N. E. ſpunging flood, by degrees tranſverſly athwart the mouth of the Strait from cape Cabrita to Ceuta point; to end this tide, with the beginning of the next, and perfect the circle, look to plan the firſt, where the tides are ſhewn.

From theſe two accounts, I think we may conclude, that the Straits of Hercules run into a five-fold current upon the ſurface, and to a certain depth; and at the ſame time there muſt be under currents, otherwiſe the Dutch ſhip would have either remained at the bottom of the current in which ſhe was ſunk, or elſe have roſe in the Mediterranean ſea, as ſhe was in the center current that ſets into the ſaid ſea: and the under current accounts for the

reaſon why the longeſt line can find no bottom, being carried away from the ground by oppoſite directions. Theſe oppoſite friction of the ſea preſſing upon, and againſt, each other, account for the vaſt convulſions of the Straits, particularly when the wind blows hard from the Levant, or weſtward; for in thoſe high winds the waters are in vaſt agitation, and will in ſome parts of the Straits, to the eaſt of Tarifa, boil upon the deck of deep loaded veſſels, in vaſt whirlpools: which I have ſeen, and which I take to be where each ſtream rubs by the other; and ſuch agitations I have obſerved in the race of Portland and Alderney, occaſioned by contrary currents, foul grounds, and promontories, which repel each other with great violence.

Theſe accounts naturally lead one to the famous action between Adherbal the Carthaginian, and Lælius the Roman admiral: the former ſailing from Gadira, and the latter intercepting him from Carteia: but as I have amply wrote upon this ſubject, I ſhall only obſerve, that this remarkable circumſtance of thoſe eddies, points out that the engagement could not have been in the Atlantic, neither between the capes Spartel and Trafalgar, or in the Mediterranean, for there are no ſuch eddies there; Lælius therefore deſcried the quinquereme that was diſpatched before Adherbal's fleet, from off Carteia, and conſequently had time to engage Adherbal againſt his inclination, owing to the meeting currents already deſcribed; and which of itſelf is a ſufficient proof, that Carteia was at Rocadillo, at the bottom of Gibraltar bay.

As ſoon as you ſail between capes Spartel and Trafalgar, which is almoſt an ocean, the Straits of Hercules have a remarkable romantic appearance, particularly Mons Abila and Calpe, Apes hill, and the mountain of Gibraltar: though the real Strait runs between Europa point of the latter, and point Africa of Ceuta.

John Leo, the Moor (1), writes, that Septa was called by the Latins, Civitas, and by the Portugals, Seupta, built by the Romans;

(1) Chap. v. p. 180.

mans; and was once the principal city of Mauritania, and held in great reſpect by thoſe people, who had a very civil police there, and was well inhabited: afterwards it was won by the Goths, who appointed a governour, and kept it in their poſſeſſion, till the Mahometans invaded the country and ſurpriſed it.

The Goths, or rather Vandals, were invited by Bonifacius into Africa: theſe Vandals who were commanded by Genſeric, were ordered by him to aſſemble with their wives, children, and effects; and having ordered them to go on board, he put to ſea in the month of May of the year four hundred and twenty-eight, and, abandoning Spain, croſſed the Straits of Gibraltar, and landed in Africa (2): and committed moſt dreadful ravages in that wealthy province, as the author of St. Auſtin deſcribes; and according to that writer, they were in the month of May of the year four hundred and thirty, already maſters of all the cities of Africa, except Carthage, Cirtha, and Hippo: however, Valentinian maintained as long as he lived, among ſome other provinces, that of Tingitana.

Geſalic, or Gezaleyk, the ninth king of the Goths, went into Africa, to aſk ſuccours of Traſimond, king of the Vandals, and obtained them: he returned and died in the year five hundred and ten (3).

Theudis, the eleventh king of the Oſtrogoths, paſſed into Africa (4), and beſieged the city of Ceuta; but the garriſon upon a Sunday made a ſally, and cut in pieces the beſt part of his army, which cauſed him to retire with what were left, and return home. He was murdered by a pretended madman, in the five hundred and forty-eighth year of Chriſt. But here I muſt be more particular.

The Vandals, who had tranſported themſelves to Afric, and were maſters of all the coaſts oppoſite to Spain, had for their

(2) Univ. Hiſt. Vol. XIX. B. IV. c. XXVIII. p. 341. (3) Richer's Abridged Hiſt. Spain, p. 60. (4) Idem.

monarch in four hundred and ſixty-ſix Genſeric (5), who had been very ſucceſsful againſt the Romans, and was now conſidered both as a lawful and a very potent prince (6).

The royal family of the Goths being entirely extinct by the death of Amaleric, in five hundred and thirty-one (7); their monarchy, which ſeems hitherto to have been in ſome meaſure hereditary, became afterwards ſtrictly elective. The firſt who mounted the throne, by the choice of the nobility, was Theudis, who had governed Spain with ſo much reputation during the minority of the deceaſed prince. He was ſcarce ſeated on the throne before he ſaw the neighbouring kingdoms of the Vandals in Africa ſubverted by the armies of the emperour Juſtinian, under the command of the famous Beliſarius, and this before he could determine with himſelf whether it would be conſiſtent with his intereſt to interpoſe in the quarrel.

Some ſhort time after this, the king of the Viſigoths was alarmed by the proſpect of new dangers; for the imperial forces, not content with overturning the kingdom of the Vandals in Africa, turned their victorious arms againſt the city of Ceuta, which, though there is no account how that city came into their hands, yet it was at this time in the poſſeſſion of the Goths, and reduced before Theudis was in a condition to afford the garriſon any relief (8). He had however aſſembled an army for this purpoſe; and, becoming better appriſed of the importance of this place, from its loſs, he cauſed his troops to be embarked as ſoon as poſſible, in hopes of recovering it before the Romans had time to repair and provide for its defence. But, though an Adrian, it ſeems he was ſo ſtrict in his obſervation of the Sunday, as a day of reſt and devotion, that the enemy, taking advantage of his piety, made a general ſally with ſuch ſucceſs, that he was obliged to raiſe the

(5) Mod. Univ. Hiſt. Vol. xix. B. xix. p. 344. (6) Jornand. cap. xlvii. S. Iſid. (7) Ildefons. (8) Iſid. Hiſt. Goths. Greg. Turon.

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ſiege, and return with his fleet and army acroſs the Straits into Spain (9); where he did not long ſurvive this diſgrace, being aſſaſſinated in five hundred and forty-eight. His ſucceſſor, Theodicile, was aſſaſſinated in five hundred and forty-nine. Agila was then advanced to the regal dignity, without waiting for the uſual forms. This diſguſted many of the nobility, who had no ſhare in the election; and his irregular conduct ſoon increaſed the number of his enemies (1). The city of Cordova was the firſt that refuſed to acknowledge him for their ſovereign; which provoked him to ſuch a degree, that he marched thither with a numerous army, fully reſolved to chaſtiſe the inhabitants in ſuch a manner, as might deter others from following their example (2). The people of Cordova iſſuing out of the city, attacked him in the field, defeated his forces, killed one of his ſons, and obliged him to retire with great precipitation. This ſucceſs of theirs excited revolts in ſeveral places; which Athanagild, a noble, but a very ambitious Goth, managed with ſuch dexterity, that thoſe who were in arms, and without a chief, invited him to put himſelf at their head, and proclaimed him king (3). He might very probably have attained his views without foreign aſſiſtance, but he was in haſte to be a king; and, that he might be ſo the ſooner, demanded aſſiſtance from the emperour Juſtinian, to whom this application was very welcome, more eſpecially as he propoſed at the ſame time to give a certain diſtrict on the coaſt of Spain, in return for theſe auxiliaries (4). The emperour, therefore, ſent over a body of troops from Africa, under the command of Liberius, who was immediately put into poſſeſſion of the maritime country, from the hill of Gibraltar to the confines of the kingdom of Valencia (5).

(9) Iſid. ubi ſupra. (1) Mar. Hiſt. de Hiſpan. lib. v. c. ix. Ferreras, Hiſt. de Hiſpan. p. 3. § vi. Mayerne. Turquet, lib. v. (2) Iſidor. Hiſt. Goth. (3) Jornand. Iſidor. Greg. Tur. (4) Iſid. Greg. Turon. (5) Iſid. Hiſt. Goth.

In ſix hundred and fourteen, the patrician Cæſarius had the direction of all the affairs of the imperialiſts in Spain, who were maſters of the whole coaſt, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the frontiers of Valencia, and had alſo the little country of Algrave, with a line of numerous little fortreſſes along their frontiers (6). After king Siſebut had gained ſeveral advantages and victories over the imperialiſts, Cæſarius ſent him a letter, deſiring to know what terms the imperialiſts might expect, in caſe (for avoiding the effuſion of Chriſtian blood) they ſhould be diſpoſed to ſubmiſſion. Siſebut received the miniſter kindly, anſwered the letter graciouſly, and acquainted Cæſarius with his terms; who conſented to them, provided he might have leave to ſend them to his maſter, the emperour Heraclius, for his approbation (7). Heraclius, the Greek emperour, ratified the treaty at Conſtantinople, though very diſadvantageous, and gave up all the country he poſſeſſed in Spain, along the coaſt of the Mediterranean, reſerving only Algarve, as it is now called.

At this time, the inhabitants of the oppoſite coaſt of Africa committed frequent piracies upon thoſe who were now become ſubjects to this brave, clement, and victorious monarch, king Siſebut; who brought the whole naval force of his kingdom round to that ſide of his dominions; and, as the moſt effectual method of putting an end to theſe diſorders, he embarked the beſt part of his army that had ſubdued the imperialiſts, and, making a deſcent in Mauritania, reduced Tangier, Ceuta, and all the adjacent diſtrict, into which he put ſtrong garriſons, and ſo freed his people at once and for ever from the dangers they were expoſed to on that ſide (8). This was the laſt great action of his life, and happened in the year of our Lord ſix hundred and eighteen.

(6) Mod. Univ. Hiſt. Vol. xix. B. xix. p. 404, 405. (7) Vaſæi Chron. (8) Alphonſ. a Carthag. reg. Hiſpan. Ancephalæoſſis. Roder. Sanctii Epiſt. Palent.

In

In the year ſeven hundred, Egiza, king of Spain, died, and was ſucceeded by Witiza, who might be a wicked, and, in that ſenſe, a weak prince, without being a madman or an idiot (9), as ſome have ſtiled him. But his vices grew upon him daily, more eſpecially after the death of Gunderic, who was ſucceeded by Sindered in the ſee of Toledo; a man who is ſaid to have complied with his prince, at the expence of his conſcience and his function; and it is likewiſe aſſerted, with great probability, that, miſguided by the bad example of the court, the people in general became luxurious, indolent, and vicious, which, as it was very natural, leſſened them in the eſteem of their neighbours, and prepared the way for that ruin in which they were afterwards ſwallowed up. We muſt now, ſays my author (1), turn our eyes upon thoſe whom Providence made the ſcourges of a diſſolute monarch and a degenerate people, and take notice of the firſt ſteps that were made towards their deſtruction.

Walid was at this time caliph of the Saracens, and Muza was the general who commanded his forces in the marine parts of Africa. He had already, by order of his maſter, reduced the reſt of Mauritania under his obedience, and reſolved to finiſh his conqueſts by driving the Goths out of the ſmall part of that country of which they were poſſeſſed (2). It was with this view that he marched directly with a numerous army, to form the ſiege of Ceuta, in which count Julian commanded, who is ſaid to have eſpouſed the ſiſter of Oppas, (the brother of king Witiza, or as ſome ſay, his ſon) and of king Witiza. He was certainly a man of great quality, and an excellent officer, of which he gave a noble inſtance, by defending this place with ſuch ſkill and intrepidity, that, after conſiderable loſs before it, Muza was obliged to raiſe the ſiege, and, as a proof of his reſentment for want of ſucceſs, he ravaged and deſtroyed all the adjacent country without mercy (3).

(9) Ferreras. (1) Mod. Univ. Hiſt. Vol. XIX. B. XIX. p. 456, note (G).
(2) Roderic Tolet. Hiſt. Arab. (3) Ferr. Hiſt. Hiſpania, p. 4. § viii.

Some-

Some time after this, bearing ſtill in his mind the anger kindled by this defeat, he cauſed a powerful fleet to be fitted out, that he might try whether the Goths were as able to defend themſelves at ſea as on land. Witiza had no ſooner intelligence of this, than he likewiſe equipped a powerful navy, under the command of prince Theodomir, who had been before victorious over this enemy, and was ſo fortunate as to defeat them again; which obliged Muza to conſider his future attempts better, though at the ſame time it ſerved to augment that indignation he had conceived againſt the Goths, and which was ever after implacable (4).

This, as ſome judicious Spaniſh writers obſerve, ought to have opened the eyes of the monarch of the Goths, and excited in him an active and diligent zeal for putting his dominions, more eſpecially their ſea coaſts, into the beſt ſtate of defence poſſible. But when men, and more eſpecially princes, devote themſelves entirely to pleaſure, it ſo enervates their faculties, and clouds their underſtandings, that they remain in a kind of dead ſleep, in which deſtruction generally finds them (5). But beſides this neglect of Witiza, to take the meaſures neceſſary in ſo critical a conjuncture, there was another circumſtance that could not fail of retarding his progreſs in that reſpect, though he might have been ſo inclined; and this was, the ſuſpicions he had of the fidelity of many of his ſubjects, which rendered it extremely dangerous for him to raiſe forces in different parts of the kingdom, who, inſtead of reſiſting foreign enemies, might have turned their arms againſt himſelf (6). We may from hence diſcern, that the condition of Spain at this time was ſuch as really invited the Moors, a reſtleſs and martial nation, to attempt an invaſion, at the ſame time that it diſabled the Goths from exerting themſelves in a manner otherwiſe natural to a people who had eſtabliſhed themſelves in Spain by the ſame courage and diſcipline, through the exerciſe of which they had been acquired (7).

(4) Iſid. Pacens. (5) Alphonſ. Magn. Chron. Luc. Tudens. Roderic Tolet, lib. III. (6) Vaſæi. Chron. (7) Luc. Tudens.

All

All the arts that Witiza could uſe, and all the precautions that his diffidence could inſpire, proved in the end ineffectual for preventing the defection of his ſubjects, who, taking the advantage of the diſtracted ſtate of his affairs, began to ſhake off all reſpect for his government in ſeveral diſtant provinces. Roderic, the ſon of Theodofred, availing himſelf of this general diſpoſition, was quickly in ſuch a ſtate, as to form pretenſions to the regal dignity; ſo that a civil war began, and confuſion ſerved, as it commonly does in all countries, as the prelude to univerſal deſtruction (8). The king's thoughts, being taken off from the care of the public, were from this time entirely turned to the preſervation of himſelf and his family: on the other hand, the rebels and malecontents having their own ſafety chiefly in view, were aſſiduous only in bringing that revolution to bear which might free them from all fear of puniſhment from Witiza; ſo that the apprehenſions of preſent and immediate danger on both ſides, hindered either party from diſcerning the peril they were in of being totally overthrown by an enterprizing and vigilant enemy, that kept an eye continually upon their diviſions, and expected with impatience when a proper opportunity would offer for renewing their endeavours to extend that empire which they had lately eſtabliſhed in Africa over the oppoſite country in Europe, which they knew to be rich and flouriſhing, and which theſe hungry and rapacious conquerors had a longing deſire to plunder (9). Of this they very ſpeedily gave another pregnant inſtance, even before things were altogether ripe for making a general invaſion; but by what means they were led to this expedition, is not eaſy to determine (1), though we conceive the following at leaſt a propable account.

The governour of Mauritania for the caliph Muza, after long meditation, judged the moſt probable means of ſubduing Spain, was, to gain a footing therein, by ſeizing either ſome ſtrong place,

(8) Alphonſ. Magn. Chron. Luc. Tudens. Vaſæi Chron. (9) Roderic. Tolet. Hiſt. Arab. (1) Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras.

or ſome ſmall diſtrict that might be eaſily fortified; and having this project once in his mind, it was not long before he perceived, that the peninſula oppoſite to Afric, and within four leagues of his own province, was the fitteſt that he could deſire for ſuch a purpoſe. He made choice, therefore, of Tarick, or Tarif Abuzara, to command a ſmall body of troops, which he cauſed to be embarked for the execution of this deſign, about the ſucceſs of which, authors differ extremely (2). The Spaniſh writers ſay, that he landed with ſo ſmall a force, that he was ſpeedily repulſed, and obliged to return to Africa; whereas ſome of the Arabians aſſert, that, finding the Goths engaged in a civil war, he ravaged all the coaſts, and returned to Muza with an account that his enterprize would be found a great deal more eaſy than himſelf had imagined (3). Others maintain, that he went yet farther, and that he eſtabliſhed himſelf here, beſtowing the name of Geizira Haladra, i. e. the Green iſland, afterwards contracted into Algeicira, on the whole tract, and that of Gebel Tarick, which by degrees has been ſoftened into Gibraltar, on the promontory and fortreſs which he erected there (4) [A]. This, in

(2) Alphonſ. Magn. Chron. Luc. Tudens. Roderic Tolet. (3) Chron. de Albayd. Mohammed Ebnalgocia. (4) Shariſol Edriſi, ſive Geog. Nub.

[A] In obedience to his maſter's commands, it is ſaid, that Muza acquainted count Julian, he was willing, in purſuance of his advice, to make an attempt upon Spain; but that the ſituation of affairs in Afric was ſuch at this time, that it would not permit him to ſpare any great number of men; and on this account only one hundred horſe and four hundred foot were embarked on board four trading ſhips, and ſent over under the conduct of Tarick Ebn Nacair, an old officer who had but one eye, yet in great eſteem with his maſter, and held the fitteſt amongſt all under his command to form a right judgment of what might be expected from count Julian's intrigues and intereſt (a). We have ſet down the Arabic names, as beſtowed on the iſland and promontory, in this rather than in the next expedition, in which we differ from Ferreras (b), though we rely upon the ſame authority (c), becauſe it appears much more natural that new names ſhould be given to places at firſt ſight, than when they become more familiar. The reader, however, being appriſed of this, will decide as to him ſhall ſeem reaſonable.

(a) Marquis de Mondejar, Examen Chronologico del ano in que entraror los Moros in Eſpana, Part XXI. (b) Hiſtoria de Eſpana, Part IV. § viii. (c) Shariſol Edriſi in Geograph.

the ſentiment of the moſt judicious of the Spaniſh critics, is accounted the firſt entrance of the Moors, the ſtep by which they prepared for a general conqueſt; and, from a nice and judicious compariſon of facts and dates, they fixed this introductory expedition of Tarif Abuzara to the year of our Lord ſeven hundred and nine (5); and if in this they have not hit the exact truth, we may be at leaſt certain, that they come as near it as, at this diſtance of time, and with the few lights which can be derived from ancient writers, it is poſſible; and therefore with this we muſt be content; for, though nothing is of greater importance to the hiſtory of Spain than the fixing of this period, yet too much nicety therein would ſerve only to deceive us.

While Muza was contriving in what manner he might moſt effectually avail his maſter of what had been already done and diſcovered in Spain, the civil war went on between king Witiza and don Roderic, till the death of the former put the latter in poſſeſſion of the kingdom, but without putting an end to the war; for Evan and Siſebut, the ſons of Witiza, having been long accuſtomed to be ſtiled princes, could not think of being degraded into the rank of private perſons with patience, and therefore took every method that could be deviſed to make the utmoſt uſe of their father's creatures, in order to ſet one of them upon the throne (6). It was to compaſs this end, that they began to intrigue with the Saracens; and, as if the miſeries of their country were not already too many, to propoſe to them ſending an army into Spain, which, through the intrigues of count Julian, they were more than enough inclined to do (7). It muſt appear ſtrange to an attentive reader, that this noble perſonage, who but a ſhort time before had done his country ſuch a remarkable ſervice by the defence of Ceuta againſt this very man and this very nation, ſhould

(5) Mondejar, Examen Chronologicum. (6) Luc. Tudens. Roderic Tolet. Vaſæi Chron. (7) Roderic Tolet. Hiſt. Arab.

now go over to their intereſts, and labour to throw his country into the moſt miſerable condition that can poſſibly be conceived (8). It muſt be imagined, that he was drawn to this either by the promiſe of a prodigious recompence, or, which is rather to be expected in a man of his birth or quality, by too deep a reſentment of ſome perſonal injury. This laſt is adopted by moſt hiſtorians, and, in ſome, we find a copious and circumſtantial account of the manner in which king Roderic raviſhed his daughter Cava, with a long train of particulars that viſibly betray the romance. Thoſe who are more deſirous of finding truth, are very far from being poſitive whether it was the daughter or the wife of count Julian that was thus injured; and ſome modern critics, after entering cloſely and deeply into this enquiry, inſtead of ſolving thoſe doubts, have introduced a new and greater difficulty with reſpect to the king by whom this injury was done, and who they think it very probable was not Roderic, but Witiza (9). Others again, reflecting upon theſe uncertainties, and that none of the ancient Spaniſh chronicles afford the leaſt hint of this matter, conclude the whole to be a fable, which therefore they entirely reject (1).

But without carrying the matter ſo far, we may allow the Arabian writers (2), who in this reſpect had as good title to be well informed as the Spaniſh, may be in the right as to the aſſiſtance given Muza by don Julian, moved to this inexcuſeable and barbarous conduct by reſenting ſome flagrant injury done to him at home, while he was defending the conqueſts of the Goths abroad, not only againſt the prince who committed the offence, but alſo againſt his innocent ſubjects, and don Julian's own countrymen (3). This was no more than what Witiza's ſons likewiſe did, and their uncle Oppas, who was metropolitan of Seville, who, to preſerve a precarious principality, were content to abandon a part, and

(8) Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras. (9) Roder. Sanctii Epiſc. Palent. Alphonſ. a Carthag. reg. Vaſæi Chron. (1) Mantuan Pollicer. (2) Roder. Tolet. (3) Mondejar, Examen Chronologicum.

thereby

thereby hazard the whole kingdom of Spain, through the bringing in of theſe infidel auxiliaries (4). By the perſuaſion of count Julian, as their own writers ſay, Muza made a ſecond and much more conſiderable embarkation, under the command of a new general, whoſe name was Tarick Abdalahi, who, with upwards of ſeven thouſand men, accompanied by count Julian, landed near Gibraltar, and from thence made inroads into the adjacent country (5). The Saracen general, being thoroughly informed of the diviſions of the Goths, and how little king Roderic was in a condition to oppoſe them, reſolved, even with ſo inconſiderable a force, to attempt the reduction of the whole kingdom; and, that this deſign of his might not be diſappointed by his ſoldiers endeavouring to return with their ſpoils into Africa, he cauſed his fleet to be ſet on fire before his intentions were generally known; but it is to be ſuppoſed that he gave proper notice, as well of what he deſigned to do, as of what he had already done, to Muza, from whom he derived his authority (6). This is conſidered as the ſecond invaſion of the Moors, and is by many writers confounded with the firſt, becauſe the forces landed at the ſame place; but the beſt authorities place this in the year ſeven hundred and ten (7).

The wiſe governour of Mauritania, who had rendered himſelf accountable to the caliph, his maſter, for the ſucceſs of the war he had undertaken, entirely approved this meaſure, as thinking the force already ſent over by no means proportionable to ſuch a deſign, though he was at the ſame time very well pleaſed that his general was in poſſeſſion of a fortreſs and port, where for the future he might ſend reinforcements, as occaſion required (8). But believing it neceſſary, in the firſt place, to have a ſuperior army in the field, he got together as many veſſels as was poſſible, and drew out of his army twelve thouſand men more, moſtly natives

(4) Vaſæi Chron. (5) Geograph. Nubiens. Roderic Tolet. (6) Iſid. Pacens. Chron. Albayd. (7) Ferreras, Hiſt. Hiſpana, Part III. § viii. (8) Roderic Tolet.

of Mauritania, from whence the conqueſt of Spain is attributed to the Moors, and ſent them over under the command of Tarick Abincier, whom he declared general and commander in chief, and who had inſtructions to extend his conqueſts as far as he was able, without hazarding his troops too much by marching into the heart of the country (9). We muſt naturally conclude, that the contrivance, providing neceſſaries, and carrying this ſcheme into execution, muſt have been attended with various delays, and occaſioned, on the whole, a great conſumption of time, inſomuch that we cannot eaſily conceive this new general could take the field before the ſummer of ſeven hundred and eleven, at which time he found king Roderic, who had already brought his affairs into ſome order, at the head of a ſmall army, ready to oppoſe him, and at the ſame time to cover, as far as he was able, all the open country behind him from the incurſions of the Moors, who, as they had a conſiderable body of horſe, made, wherever they came, a moſt dreadful devaſtation, and exerciſed, by the advice of don Julian, and with a view to ſtrike a terror that might render reſiſtance vain, the moſt inhuman cruelties upon the unarmed and defenceleſs inhabitants (1).

The reader will diſcern, that hitherto we have had but a very indiſtinct account of this laſt monarch of the Viſigoths, and for this plain and ſhort reaſon, that there is no better to be had. We have no authentic relation of the place or manner of Witiza's death, or of the ſolemn election, or at leaſt recognition, of Roderic afterwards; for things were now in ſuch diſorder and confuſion, ſo many evils were felt, ſuch numberleſs dangers threatened, and this calamitous ſcene was of ſo long a continuance, that very few people had any inclination to put the tranſactions of thoſe times into writing, till it became impoſſible to ſpeak of them with that correctneſs and accuracy that poſterity might wiſh

(9) Ferr. Hiſtoria Hiſpana, Part IV. § viii. (1) Iſid. Pacens.

or

or expect (2). It is indeed true, that ſome hiſtorians afterwards ſtepped in, and in a good meaſure filled up this chaſm with incongruous and ſuperſtitious ſtories, below the dignity of hiſtory; and which have ſo obſcured any traces of truth that may remain amongſt them, as to prevent the bringing them together in a way that might afford the reader any tolerable ſatisfaction; and therefore it is much better to content ourſelves with a few facts, that are tolerably well ſupported, as being drawn from the ſhort chronicles of ancient writers, than to have recourſe to thoſe fabulous ſupplements, which, though they might entertain and amuſe, could not either inform or inſtruct (3).

The Moors took Ceuta by means of count Julian, who carried them into Spain, and who was earl and governour of Septa, and had a vaſt eſtate both in Africa and in Spain, as has been ſufficiently obſerved. The Mahometans having taken that city, they kept poſſeſſion on the behalf of one Elgualid, ſon of Habdulmalic, their patriarch, then reſiding at Damaſcus, in the year of the Heijra ninety-two: from thence forwards the city became ſo civilized and ſo well ſtored with inhabitants, that it grew to be the moſt famous in all Mauritania.

It contained many temples, and colleges of ſtudents, with great numbers of artizans, and men of learning and high ſpirit. Their artizans, ſays my author (4), excelled, eſpecially in works of braſs, as namely in making of candleſticks, baſons, ſtandiſhes, and ſuch like, and as highly poliſhed, as if made of gold or ſilver, and far excelled the Italians, who were curious in ſuch works.

Without the city were many fair villages and granges, eſpecially in that place, which for the abundance of wines is called the vineyards: nevertheleſs, the fields are very barren and fruitleſs, for which reaſon their corn was exceeding dear.

(2) Mariana, Mayerne, Turquet, Ferreras Hiſtoria de Hiſpana, Part iv. § viii.
(3) Roder. Sanctii Epiſc. Palent. Alphonſ. a Carthag. reg. Hiſpan. Anacephalæoſis.
(4) John Leo.

Both

Both without and within the city of Ceuta, there is a beautiful proſpect towards Granada: however, the city was greatly afflicted by Habdulmumen, the king and patriarch; who having ſurpriſed it, razed the buildings, and baniſhed the principal inhabitants thereof: and not long afterwards, it ſuſtained as great damage by the king of Granada, who (beſides the aforeſaid injuries) carried the nobles and chief citizens captives into Granada in Spain: and laſtly in the year of Mahomet eight hundred and eighteen, being taken by a Portugal armada, all the citizens abandoned it.

Abu Sahid being then king of Fez, and a man of no valour, neglected the recovery thereof: but in the midſt of his pleaſures being informed that it was loſt, he would not ſo much as interrupt his vain paſtime.

Keeping as much as poſſible within Ceuta point and cape Spartel, called by the Spaniards Cabo Eſparta, which lies between Arzilla and Tangier, ſhooting far into the ſea, and the very point guarded by a rock, between Tangier and Ceuta, is a town called Caſar Ezzaghir, that is, the little palace: it was built by Manſor, king and patriarch of Maroco, at about twelve miles from Tangier, and eighteen from Ceuta.

Every year that Manſor paſſed into the province of Granada, he was conſtrained to march his armies over the rough and ragged mountains of Ceuta, before he could gain the ocean to embark. It was well peopled in paſt times, for part of the inhabitants were weavers and merchants, and the reſt mariners, that uſed to tranſport the wares of Barbary into Europe. This town the king of Portugal took by ſurpriſe; and the king of Fez long laboured with ill ſucceſs to recover it; which was in the year of the Heijra eight hundred and ſixty-three.

In regard to Barbary, Leo Afer delivers two etymologies, which, ſays Mr. Addiſon (5), are ſo agreeable both to the nature of the

(5) Lan. Addiſon's Narrative of Weſt Barbary, p. 75.

language, and glebe of the country, that they may ſeem to have been impoſed by Adam, the primitive nomenclatour: for liſtening to the language of the Moors, Barbary ſeems to be deſcended from Barbar, which ſignifies an inarticulate murmur, and grumbling noiſe without accent or harmony; for their ſpeech is harſh, being very guttural, which is eſteemed an argument of its antiquity: and indeed it hath gained the vogue of no leſs ancient a pedigree, than to be bred of the old Punic and Arabian.

The other reaſon why this country bears the name of Barbary, may be taken from the frame and diſpoſition of the earth, which being full of wild and unkindly tumours, is well entitled to the name of Bar (a word not known to the preſent inhabitants) ſignifying a deſart, and the duplicate of the monoſyllable Bar-bar, implieth, that of old Barbary was nothing but a deſart, or great ſolitude.

As for the word Africa, I ſhall follow the Univerſal Hiſtory (6), pronounced by the Arabs Afrikia, which ſeems to be unknown to Herodotus, Ariſtotle, Strabo, and the other moſt ancient Greek authors. Dr. Hyde takes it to be the ſame with the Phœnician or Punic חברקה Habarca, Havarca, Havreca, &c. or אברקה Arreca, i. e. the Barca, or the country of Barca. This ſeems extremely probable, eſpecially ſince Barca was a moſt remarkable part of Africa, and the Romans, who firſt brought the name of Africa into Europe, might not pronounce it exactly in the ſame manner as the Carthaginians and Phœnicians, from whom they received it. The principal etymon will vaniſh, when it is conſidered, that the Orientals for the moſt part pronounced the ſecond letter of their alphabet like a v, and that nothing was more uſual with them than to add a letter to, or take one from, the beginning of a word, as might be proved by an induction of particulars, was it in any manner neceſſary.

(6) Univ. Hiſt. Vol. IV.

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It muſt be obſerved too, that the firſt diviſion of the world was into two parts only, to wit, Aſia and Europe, or the eaſtern and weſtern parts; Europe comprehending both the continent now going under that name, and Africa, which diviſion ſtill prevails amongſt many of the Orientals. This may not only be inſerted from a variety of authors, but likewiſe from the words Europe and Aſia themſelves, the former importing occidental, or weſtern, and the latter, half. When that vaſt region now called Africa was firſt conſidered as a diſtinct part of the world, theſe gentlemen cannot take upon them to determine; nor whether Europe and Africa were ever joined together by an iſthmus uniting Spain and Mauritania, as ſome authors ſuggeſt; nor laſtly, if this ſhould be admitted, when, or by what means, ſuch an iſthmus came to be deſtroyed. The Nubian geographer affirms it to have been effected by labour and art; but Averroes, by an earthquake.

The iſland Cerne, taken notice of by Hanno and Scylax, ſeems to have been ſomewhere on the coaſt of Libya Interior; but in what parts of the ocean it was, cannot be diſcovered from the Ancients, who differ widely amongſt themſelves with regard to its ſituation, which probably induced Strabo to deny the very being of it.

Theſe gentlemen own themſelves as much in the dark in relation to Plato's iſland Atlantis, which he makes of a larger extent than Aſia and Africa together. Some of the Moderns are diſpoſed to think, from ſeveral circumſtances, that it was the vaſt continent, now called America; others, that it was nearer the pillars of Hercules; and laſtly, others, that every thing related of it is to be conſidered as downright fiction. Much may be ſaid in defence of each opinion; however, the firſt appears moſt probable; for Ammianus Marcellinus affirms, that Plato on this occaſion not to have written fable, but a true hiſtory; and Proclus cites Marcellus, an Ethiopic hiſtorian, in defence of what that philoſopher has advanced concerning this iſland. Crantor alſo, Plato's firſt interpreter,

preter, takes this relation to be a true hiſtory: that the iſland here under conſideration was not ſo near the Straits as ſome modern authors ſuppoſe, ſeems probable from Diodorus Siculus, who writes, that the Phœnicians in early times ſailed beyond Hercules's pillars, along the African coaſt, and there meeting with ſtorms and tempeſts, were carried to the remoteſt parts of the ocean, and, after many days, came to a vaſt iſland at a great diſtance from Libya, and lying very far weſt. This country, continues the ſame author, had a fruitful ſoil, navigable rivers, &c. and, from the Phœnicians, the Carthaginians came to the knowledge of it: and in the ſame place he ſays, that the Carthaginians would not permit any other nation to ſettle in this new region, but reſerved it for themſelves, that, if ever they were driven from their native ſoil, they might have a place to which they might retire. Ælian brings Silenus expreſsly aſſerting to Midas, that there was a vaſt continent beyond Europe, Aſia, and Africa, which ought to be conſidered as iſlands ſurrounded by the ocean. Theſe, and other paſſages, that might be extracted from the Ancients, induced the learned Perizonius to conclude, that the inhabitants of the old world had ſome faint knowledge of America, derived to them either from the Egyptian and Carthaginian traditions, or from the figure of the earth, which was not wholly unknown to them.

Leo writes, that Mauritania Tingitana was the moſt rich and beautiful country of Africa, and named from the city Tingis; and was alſo (as Pliny witneſſeth) called Borgundiana: while others have called it by the names of Mauritania Sitiphenſis, Hiſpania Transfretana, and Hiſpania Tingitana: but Solinus calls the ſame Mauritania Inferior: and that the inhabitants were of old named by the Greeks, Mauruſii, and by the Romans, Mauri, but that the Spaniards call them Alárabes.

This once great and ancient city of Tangiers, was built by Antæus, improved and better peopled by the Phœnicians and Car-

thaginians, and afterwards repeopled, beautified, and colonized by the Romans, about the time when they ſubdued the kingdom of Bætica. From the Straits of Gibraltar, ſays Leo the Moor (7), it was diſtant almoſt thirty, and from Fez an hundred and fifty miles, i. e. from the Strait between Mons Calpe and Septa: ſo that Leo did not look for the Strait to the weſtward of Europa and Africa points.

From the time that the Goths were firſt lords of Granada, this city of Tangier was ſubject to Septa, or Ceuta, until it and Arzilla were won by the Mahometans. It was always a civilized, famous, and well peopled town, very ſtately, and ſumptuouſly built: but the lands belonging to it were not very fertile, nor fit for tillage: however not far off are certain vallies continually watered with fountains, which furniſh the city with all kinds of fruit in abundance: beſides, there are without the city a great many vines, upon a ſandy ſoil.

It was well inhabited, till ſuch time as Arzilla was ſurpriſed by the Portugueſe: for then the inhabitants being diſmayed by rumours of wars, took up their bag and baggage and fled unto Fez: whereupon the king of Portugal's deputy at Arzilla ſent one of his captains thither, who kept it ſo long under the obedience of the king, till the king of Fez ſent one of his kinſmen alſo to defend a region of great importance near unto the mountains of Gumera, being enemies to the Chriſtians.

Twenty-five years before the king of Portugal won this city, he ſent an armada againſt it; hoping that the city, being deſtitute of aid, while the king of Fez was engaged againſt the rebels of Mequinez, would ſoon ſurrender: but contrary to the expectation of the Portugueſe, the king of Fez concluded a ſudden truce with them of Mequinez, and ſent his counſellor with an army, who encountering the Portugueſe, made a great ſlaughter, and ſlew their

(7) Vid. Leo. Geog. Hiſt. Africa, B. III. p. 179.

general,

general, who was carried in a ſack to new Fez, and there to be ſet upon an high place where all men might behold him: afterwards the king of Portugal ſent a new ſupply, who ſuddenly aſſaulted the city in the night, but were moſt of them ſlain, and the remainder obliged to fly: but that which the king of Portugal could not achieve by theſe two armadas, he achieved with ſmall forces and little diſadvantage: in the days of my author Leo, Mahomet, king of Fez, left no means unattempted for the recovery of this city, but ſo great always was the Portugal valour, that he had ever ill ſucceſs. Theſe things were done in the year of the Heijra nine hundred and ſeventeen, and of Chriſt one thouſand five hundred and eight.

Tangier, called by the Portugueſe Tanjar, was one of the oldeſt cities of Africa, in the province of Haſbat, in the kingdom of Fez, at the bottom of a gulf on the weſtern ſhore, near the Straits of Gibraltar, in former times of great repute, and had in ſixteen hundred and ſixty-two an univerſity (8).

This city of Tangier, was the capital of Mauritania Tingitana (9). It ſtands on a handſome bay, and was once a conſiderable place, and is ſaid by the African fabuliſts to have excelled all the cities of the world for largeneſs and magnificence, and to have been ſurrounded by walls of braſs. It had, however, many ſumptuous edifices and palaces, and a conſiderable number of noblemen who reſided there in the time of the Goths and Arabians; but being taken by the Portugueſe in the year one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-one, or one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-three, according to others (1), grew more conſiderable for its ſtrength than beauty. At length finding the expence of keeping it exceed by far the advantage they reaped by it, it was readily

(8) Brockwell's Natural and Political Hiſt. Portugal. (9) Ancient Hiſt. Vol. XIV. p. 328. Vol. XVIII. p. 173. (1) See Braithwait's Revol. of Morocco, p. 320.

yielded to the Engliſh, as part of the dowry of the princeſs Catharine of Portugal.

The Moors are ſo far from having excellent libraries, that they wonder to ſee, ſays Mr. Addiſon, any book of age, or volume in their own language. This he underſtood from Cidi Hamet Coger (formerly Alcaide of Alcazar) who when in Tangier coming to ſee the public library that the Engliſh had founded there, where he ſhewed him a M. S. in his own character concerning their religion, he kiſſed, hugged, laid it to his brow, upon the crown of his head, lifted it up to heaven, and in every circumſtance appeared therewith ſo much tranſported, that it could ſcarce be reſcued out of his embraces.

The ſame M. S. Mr. Addiſon alſo ſhewed to a talib (who was one of Tafilit's embérkin or meſſenger of ſtate, ſent to compliment his excellency the lord embaſſadour, the illuſtrious lord H. Howard at Tangier) who eſteemed it ſo great a rarity, that he ſolicited the ambaſſador to beg, or buy it for him at any rate (2).

This city, while the Romans were lording it over Spain, was ſubjected to the prince of Ceuta, and continued very populous till the time of Alphonſo the fifth, king of Portugal, who in one thouſand four hundred and ſixty-three, at the head of thirty thouſand men and three hundred and eight veſſels great and ſmall, eaſily made himſelf maſter of the place: the inhabitants went to Fez.

Don Alphonſo, by extending his dominions all along the coaſt of Africa between the years one thouſand four hundred and fifty-one and one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-one, gained him the glorious ſurname of the African (3).

Alphonſo's father in one thouſand four hundred and thirty-three had worn out his time fruitleſsly in his African wars; and parti-

(2) Weſt Barbary, &c. by L. Addiſon. preface to the reader. (3) Vertot. Revol. in Spain, Vol. IV. B. IX. p. 595.

cularly

cularly in the ſiege of this city, which he was obliged to raiſe, and leave his brother Ferdinand as a pledge in the hands of Aben Sala, emperour of Barbary, till Septa or Ceuta ſhould be redelivered: but the ſtate of Portugal eſteemed it diſhonourable, eaſily to ſurrender a place of ſo much conſequence as Ceuta, and neglected the prince who remained priſoner ſeven years in miſerable captivity (4).

Tangier being taken, remained many years in the poſſeſſion of the kingdom of Portugal; for after it was abandoned by the Portugueſe, it was retaken by Alphonſo, in one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy (5), who fortified it with walls and other works: and in one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-two it was given to king Charles the ſecond of England, as part of the dowry with his conſort Catharine, infanta of Portugal: but ſome writers ſay, he being weary of the charges of defending it againſt the attempts of the Moors, and many gallant actions being performed by its governours, particularly Sir Palmer Fairborne, who was mortally wounded here by a ſhot from the Moors in one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty, and whoſe epitaph Dryden wrote, he cauſed it to be blown up in one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-four; ſo that it was repeopled by the Moors, and has ever ſince remained in their poſſeſſion.

Turquet gives this ſhort but particular account: king Alphonſo, ſays he (6), in one thouſand four hundred and ſeventy, having in perſon tranſported beyond ſea a very mighty army, being followed by the prince don John his ſon, and by many great lords and experienced captains of his kingdom, and taking by force Arzilla, he ſo terrified the inhabitants of Tangier, that they forſook the city, and left it empty to the Portugueze. Don Alphonſo having amply enlarged his empire beyond the ſea, the kings of Portugal have taken the title of king on this ſide, and beyond the

(4) Vid. Ogilby, p. 197. (5) Geog. Dict. printed in 1759. (6) Turquet's Gen. Hiſt. Spain, B. XXI. p. 829.

ſea.

ſea. The government of Tangier was granted to Ruy de Merlo with a good garriſon, and then the king and army returned to Liſbon.

By ſecretary Thurloe's ſixth volume of ſtate papers, p. 505 (7), I find that men of great reflection, even ſo early, perceived the great benefit which England's commerce would reap, from poſſeſſing a ſafe and fortified port at or very near the entrance into the Mediterranean ſea. In a letter written by general Monk from Scotland, to the ſaid ſecretary Thurloe, in September, one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-ſeven, there is the following remarkable paragraph, viz. "I underſtand the Portugal ambaſſa-"dor is come to London; and I make no queſtion, but he will "be deſiring ſome favour from my lord protector. There is a "caſtle in the Straits' mouth, which the Portugals have called "Tangar, on Barbary ſide, and which if they would part withal, "it would be very uſeful to us; and they make little uſe of it, "unleſs it be for getting of Blackamoors; for which his highneſs "may give him leave to trade. An hundred men will keep the "caſtle, and half a dozen frigates there, would ſtop the whole "trade in the Straits to ſuch as ſhall be enemies to us."

This propoſal of general Monk's very probably occaſioned the ſtipulating of this port and caſtle five years afterwards to be a part of queen Catharine's marriage portion, as it accordingly was: yet this ſame general Monk afterwards found a conſiderable garriſon little enough to defend it againſt the continual attacks of the Moors.

De Witt, in his Intereſt of Holland, juſtly remarks, "That "although their ſhips trading into the Mediterranean ſhould be "well guarded by convoys againſt the Barbary pirates; yet it "would by no means be proper to free that ſea of thoſe pirates; "becauſe (ſays he) we ſhould thereby be put upon the ſame foot-

(7) Vid. Anderſon upon Commerce, Vol. II. p. 101.

"ing

"ing with the Eaſtlanders, Engliſh, Spaniards, and Italians: "wherefore it is beſt to leave that thorn in the ſides of thoſe na- "tions, whereby they will be diſtreſſed in that trade: whilſt we, "by our convoys, engroſs all the European traffic and navigation "to Holland."

By the experience of the ill effects of former negligence, and the help of the port of Gibraltar, we have, in our own times, greatly gained ground upon Holland in this particular reſpect.

"Fas eſt & ab hoſte doceri:"

"We may, and ought to learn wiſdom even from an enemy."

Towards the cloſe of the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-one, a marriage treaty was concluded between king Charles the ſecond of England, and the princeſs Catharine, ſiſter to Alphonſo the ſixth, king of Portugal: it is ſaid, that the real fortune, which Alphonſo agreed to give with his ſiſter, was three hundred thouſand pounds ſterling (8). It is almoſt foreign to remark, that France greatly forwarded this match, for the further weakening of Spain; and that Spain, for the prevention thereof, propoſed to our king three ſeveral proteſtant princeſſes: but it is much to the purpoſe to note, that Portugal hoping for great aſſiſtance from England againſt Spain, not only agreed to the above-mentioned large ſum, but likewiſe to yield up to king Charles for ever the town and port of Tangier on the Barbary ſhore, at the very entrance of the Straits' mouth of the Mediterranean, and of the town, port, and iſland of Bombay (or Bombaim) with the reſt of the iſle of North Salſet, on the coaſt of Malabar, in Eaſt-India. Tangier (or Tanger) had been poſſeſſed by the Portugueſe ever ſince the year one thouſand four hundred and ſixty-three, when king Alphonſo the fifth took it from the Moors. To this port, king Charles granted all the privileges and immunities of a free

(8) Idem, Vol. II. p. 118.

port,

port, in order to make it a place of trade; for which, as well as for the ſecurity of our Mediterranean, &c. commerce, it was very advantageouſly ſituated: but by the king's bad conduct, it did not (as we ſhall ſee) anſwer expectation.

Tangier being in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty beſieged by the king of Morocco, king Charles the ſecond ſent a meſſage to the Houſe of Commons, to recommend its preſervation, and its importance to the Engliſh commerce in the Mediterranean; and that the two millions already expended on it would be entirely thrown away, unleſs ſpeedy and effectual ſupplies were granted for its relief: but the Commons, in an addreſs to the king (inſtead of granting this) repreſented (inter alia) "That Tangier had been ſeveral times under the command of "popiſh governours, and its garriſon, in a great degree, made up "of popiſh officers and ſoldiers, as alſo that the money given for "it had been miſapplied; wherefore they could not grant a ſupply "for Tangier, unleſs they might be aſſured, that thereby they did "not augment the ſtrength of their popiſh adverſaries." Thus the jealouſy entertained by the parliament and nation, that the king intended this place for a curb on their religion and liberties, prevented its being duly ſupplied, and occaſioned (as we ſhall ſee) its being abandoned ſoon after by the king (9).

For in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-three, king Charles ſent lord Dartmouth, attended by the able Mr. Pepys, ſecretary of the admiralty, with twenty ſhips of war, utterly to demoliſh the town, caſtle, and mole of Tangier, and to choke up its harbour. It was ſaid to have been ſtrong when the Portugueſe delivered it up to England, in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-two; but it was ſo greatly improved in ſtrength by king Charles, as to be deemed impregnable. He, for the ſecurity of its haven and our ſhipping, conſtructed a ſuperb mole, the extre-

(9) Anderſon on Commerce, Vol. II. p. 171.

mities

mities whereof are ſaid to have run out ſix hundred yards into the ſea; and its ſtones were ſo ſtrongly cemented together as if it had been one entire rock, inſomuch that they were forced to drill it in many places, and blow it up by piece-meal; whereby it took up ſix months in its entire demolition. The mole had been made extremely commodious for our ſhipping and commerce, by reaſon of its ſituation on the African ſide of the Straits' mouth (1).

In April one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-four, lord Dartmouth returned to England with the garriſon, artillery, and ſtores. "Hereby (ſays Rapin) the king was freed from a conſi-"derable annual expence; and the garriſon, moſtly conſiſting of "popiſh officers and ſoldiers, ſerved to augment the king's forces "at home, thereby keeping in awe thoſe who were impatient of "the yoke." As ſundry towns on the ſame ſhore are ſtill held by Spain and Portugal, Tangier would probably at this day have been leſs an object of jealouſy to the other European powers than Gibraltar is on the oppoſite ſhore: but whether its harbour and ſituation on the ſouth ſide, where the current is ſaid to run much ſtronger into the Straits than on the oppoſite ſhore, would have in all reſpects equally anſwered our commercial and political ends, is a point we will not preſume to determine. Yet we imagine it will ſcarcely be denied, that our retaining it with Gibraltar, would have been a conſiderable additional ſecurity to our commerce; and poſſibly alſo an augmentation of our naval power and influence, by keeping conſtantly a ſquadron of ſhips in ſo ſecure a port: leaving this point, however, for ſtateſmen, we ſhall only add what ſome hiſtorians further relate, viz. that the rubbiſh of the demoliſhed mole and of the walls of the town being thrown into the harbour, has ſo effectually choked it up, that it can never hereafter be a commodious port; which, however, is at leaſt

(1) Idem, p. 178.

doubtful till a trial ſhall be attempted. Mr. Burchett, in his Naval Hiſtory, relates, "That by our king's direction, there were buried amongſt the ruins a conſiderable number of milled crown pieces of his majeſty's coin; which, poſſibly, many centuries hence, may declare to ſucceeding ages, that that place was once a member of the Britiſh empire: and, let us juſt ſubjoin, who can tell but that hereafter it may be judged the intereſt of the Britiſh empire to re-aſſume its right to that port? more eſpecially, if what is ſaid by ſome be true, that the foundations of its demoliſhed mole, as well as of its walls, remain entire; and that it is very poſſible for its haven to be entirely cleared of rubbiſh. Profeſſor Oakley, in his account of ſouth-weſt Barbary, "thinks it would "be an enterprize worth attempting, and eaſily to be effected, to "recover the ſaid place again: for (ſays he) if two thouſand men "were to go with three men of war and two bomb ketches, they "might make themſelves maſters of it in twenty-four hours time: "for, upon the heaving of a ſcore of bombs, not one ſoul of the "Moors would ſtay within the town, and then the ſoldiers might "land at pleaſure, who would have nothing elſe to do but to "plant their guns on the walls, and by night to empty a few "places of the ditches that are filled."

The city of Tangier made a fair proſpect to the ſea, and was a commodious port, and too ſtrong for the Moors to wreſt it from the power of England; though they thought that it might have been eaſy for them to have recovered, by its far diſtant ſituation from England: accordingly they proceeded under the conduct of their tempeſtuous general Gaylan, who, after ſeveral defeats which he received, with the loſs of his own brother, played the Engliſh garriſon a foul trick; for, having formed an ambuſcade, he drew the earl of Tiveot imperceptibly into it, and cut to pieces moſt of the garriſon.

Tangier was built on a riſing ground of white ſtone, pretty well fortified; and the hills on both ſides guarded by walls, &c

and

and to the ſea a pier was rebuilt by the Moors, after the Engliſh abandoned it: but whilſt they remained, the Moors made continual aſſaults upon the works, and kept the town in perpetual alarm, which occaſioned frequent ſkirmiſhes: it was therefore found too great a charge for ſending every year ſuccours to relieve it.

This city is ſituated, as I have already obſerved, in the bottom of a bay, and built on the ſide of a hill, overlooking the ſea, encompaſſed with high walls to the landward, and commanded by a ſtrong caſtle. The heats would be very troubleſome, but for the ſea breezes which cool and fan the air. In the caſtle Dr. Thomas Smith (2) met with a Roman monument, erected to the honour of P. Beſius, a great officer and ſoldier in Trajan's time, who, among his other titles, is there ſtiled, PRO. TIG. MAURITANIAE TINGITANAE which ſince has been taken away, and preſented to the univerſity of Oxon by Sir Hugh Cholmondeley. The Engliſh had two churches here, (though they only made uſe of one, the other being reſerved againſt all accidents) both of them were very neat and convenient, though not to be compared with the church of the Portugueſe, retained ſtill (according to the articles of agreement when the king of Portugal made over the right title, and gave the poſſeſſion of Tangier to the crown of England) by canons regulars belonging to it, which was very ſtately and adorned with rich images, and ſupported by marble pillars. Toward one end of the Engliſh church, juſt by the veſtry, which had been formerly a Turkiſh moſque, and afterwards the chapel of a convent of Dominicans, was a monumental ſtone table, with Arabic characters, containing an account of the houſes, lands, and other revenues belonging to it, ſet up in the ſeven hundred and forty-third year of the Heijra, that is of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred and forty-one. The mole was in great forwardneſs, having

(2) N. 230. p. 527.

doubtful till a trial ſhall be attempted. Mr. Burchett, in his Naval Hiſtory, relates, "That by our king's direction, there were buried amongſt the ruins a conſiderable number of milled crown pieces of his majeſty's coin; which, poſſibly, many centuries hence, may declare to ſucceeding ages, that that place was once a member of the Britiſh empire: and, let us juſt ſubjoin, who can tell but that hereafter it may be judged the intereſt of the Britiſh empire to re-aſſume its right to that port? more eſpecially, if what is ſaid by ſome be true, that the foundations of its demoliſhed mole, as well as of its walls, remain entire; and that it is very poſſible for its haven to be entirely cleared of rubbiſh. Profeſſor Oakley, in his account of ſouth-weſt Barbary, "thinks it would "be an enterprize worth attempting, and eaſily to be effected, to "recover the ſaid place again: for (ſays he) if two thouſand men "were to go with three men of war and two bomb ketches, they "might make themſelves maſters of it in twenty-four hours time: "for, upon the heaving of a ſcore of bombs, not one ſoul of the "Moors would ſtay within the town, and then the ſoldiers might "land at pleaſure, who would have nothing elſe to do but to "plant their guns on the walls, and by night to empty a few "places of the ditches that are filled."

The city of Tangier made a fair proſpect to the ſea, and was a commodious port, and too ſtrong for the Moors to wreſt it from the power of England; though they thought that it might have been eaſy for them to have recovered, by its far diſtant ſituation from England: accordingly they proceeded under the conduct of their tempeſtuous general Gaylan, who, after ſeveral defeats which he received, with the loſs of his own brother, played the Engliſh garriſon a foul trick; for, having formed an ambuſcade, he drew the earl of Tiveot imperceptibly into it, and cut to pieces moſt of the garriſon.

Tangier was built on a riſing ground of white ſtone, pretty well fortified; and the hills on both ſides guarded by walls, &c

and

and to the ſea a pier was rebuilt by the Moors, after the Engliſh abandoned it: but whilſt they remained, the Moors made continual aſſaults upon the works, and kept the town in perpetual alarm, which occaſioned frequent ſkirmiſhes: it was therefore found too great a charge for ſending every year ſuccours to relieve it.

This city is ſituated, as I have already obſerved, in the bottom of a bay, and built on the ſide of a hill, overlooking the ſea, encompaſſed with high walls to the landward, and commanded by a ſtrong caſtle. The heats would be very troubleſome, but for the ſea breezes which cool and fan the air. In the caſtle Dr. Thomas Smith (2) met with a Roman monument, erected to the honour of P. Beſius, a great officer and ſoldier in Trajan's time, who, among his other titles, is there ſtiled, PRO. TIG. MAURITANIAE TINGITANAE which ſince has been taken away, and preſented to the univerſity of Oxon by Sir Hugh Cholmondeley. The Engliſh had two churches here, (though they only made uſe of one, the other being reſerved againſt all accidents) both of them were very neat and convenient, though not to be compared with the church of the Portugueſe, retained ſtill (according to the articles of agreement when the king of Portugal made over the right title, and gave the poſſeſſion of Tangier to the crown of England) by canons regulars belonging to it, which was very ſtately and adorned with rich images, and ſupported by marble pillars. Toward one end of the Engliſh church, juſt by the veſtry, which had been formerly a Turkiſh moſque, and afterwards the chapel of a convent of Dominicans, was a monumental ſtone table, with Arabic characters, containing an account of the houſes, lands, and other revenues belonging to it, ſet up in the ſeven hundred and forty-third year of the Heijra, that is of Chriſt one thouſand three hundred and forty-one. The mole was in great forwardneſs, having

(2) N. 230. p. 527.

gained above two hundred yards in the ſea, in order to the making a good and ſafe harbour for ſhips to ride, which lie open to wind and waves, the outward ſide to the ſeaward ſomewhat ſloping. Old Tangier lies at ſome little diſtance, where they found very frequently, in digging, ſeveral pieces of Roman coin (3).

King Charles, at an immenſe expence and labour, made it one of the ſtrongeſt places on all that coaſt, and erected a very good fort and mole for the convenience of ſhipping; by which means it might by this time, (had it not been deſtroyed) have been a port of conſiderable trade: it was indeed made a very ſtrong place whilſt we were maſters of it, and contained fifteen hundred houſes well built, with many very pleaſant gardens. In September or October one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-three, the king commiſſioned lord Dartmouth to go with about twenty ſail of ſhips, and utterly demoliſh the town, caſtle, and mole of this place, by blowing them up, after twenty-two years poſſeſſion in the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-four. The mole had coſt the king vaſt ſums, being run out into the ſea nine hundred yards; but for want of money, or for ſome other cauſe, was left unfiniſhed. Lord Dartmouth had alſo orders to choke up the haven. Six months were ſpent in executing this commiſſion: the king was thereby freed from a conſiderable annual expence for the preſervation of this place, and moreover the garriſon, which moſtly conſiſted of popiſh ſoldiers and officers, ſerved to augment the king's forces at home, and keep in awe thoſe who were impatient of the yoke (4). Since the Moors have been in poſſeſſion, they have endeavoured to repeople it, but have not hitherto been able to raiſe it above the degree of a fiſhing town (5).

The following letters were written to the governour of Tangier, which will ſhew the eſtimation the Moors had of him and his

(3) Philoſoph. Tranſactions, Vol. III. p. 458. (4) Smollett's Hiſt. England. (5) See Braithwait's Revol. of Morocco.

garriſon;

garriſon; and, at the ſame time, the genius and air of devotion and piety of the Mauritanians (6).

" In the name of God gracious and
" merciful, whoſe bleſſing be
" upon our lord Ma-
" homed and his fa-
" mily.

" To the mighty, honourable, glorious, and moſt excellent lord " and governour of Tangier, the earl Tiveot.

" God perpetuate your excellency's honour and glory, and " vouchſafe your perſeverance in grandeur and felicity! happineſs " unto you with the odours of a glorious name, ſhall continually " breathe out their fragrancies, and let God continue and proſper " both you and your eſtate agreeable to your wiſhes.

" Furthermore, to adviſe us of your abundant love, and eſpe- " cially generoſity, there came to us the worthy gentlemen your " ſervants in their ſhip, with the honourable commanders of it, " the conſul and the captain, and they behaved themſelves amongſt " us like men, touching your command which they obſerved, and " accompliſhed our deſires according as we expected in the going " forth of our men, they returned home to us in health and ſafety, " ſo that we now re-enjoy their company according to the beſt of " our wiſhes: and may God in our ſtead largely reward and re- " compenſe you, who have ſo highly obliged us herein.

" Your meſſengers ſtaid with us for ſome days, till we had " performed ſome of their deſires; ſo that we ſent with them two " excellent horſes, and of the beſt ſort that hath been in our time, " one whereof was for our own riding, and the other is of the " ſame breed; likewiſe forty good, choice beaſts, both bulls and " cows, and a flock of about fourſcore ſheep, as a preſent to your " excellency, which out of your grace and favour, you would

(6) Lan. Addiſon's Narrative of Weſt Barbary.

" vouchſafe to accept from us. For the deſerts and merits of your " honour, God alone can recompenſe.

" We gave alſo to your legates two ſpecial horſes and a few " cattle as the time permitted, and they likewiſe bought ſome " horſes as the time ſerved, and then departed from us well con- " tented: but we are always with you in that inviolable love and " friendſhip, which neither diſtance of place, nor length of time, " ſhall ever diſſolve.

" And for our country, Barbary, (bleſſed be God) all of it that " is loyal and in obedience to us, whether mountains, plains, or " cities, you have free paſſage into it, in love and friendſhip, to " converſe and trade as you pleaſe, and to manage all your affairs: " and this will be of great advantage unto us, if it pleaſe God we " live, and the general take the caſtle of the port town, and the " rebels return wholly to their obedience, and then you ſhall not " apologize for us, or excuſe us at preſent, as to the reſt of your " deſires, being aſſured that we ceaſe not to encounter and fight " thoſe enemies which have broken covenant with us, that ſo " they may ſhortly (if God pleaſe) return to their allegiance.

" And we intreat you to grant our ſervants, the inhabitants of " the port, your beſt aſſiſtance in whatever they ſhall have need " of your help and ſupply: and whatſoever of our conſorts ſhall " come to you, we beſeech you not to be wanting in your care " towards them.

" But the moſt earneſt and important buſineſs which concerns " us to mention to you, is, for a great ſhip to lie at the port be- " tween us and the enemy, on purpoſe to cut off all relief by " ſhipping from the enemy, and pray let it be haſtened with its " freight, proviſions, and other neceſſaries. This is our chief bu- " ſineſs which we entreat you to accompliſh, according to our " deſires; and any of the ſhips that ſhall come to this port, ſhall " drive away whatſoever merchant ſhips they find there, and " ſeize their goods: for the only thing that we want, and are in

" need

" need of aſſiſtance, is this buſineſs of the merchants. Thus we " have given you the full of our deſires in what we have written: " and let God accompliſh all our deſires. Farewell.

" Written on the third day of the week, being the twenty- " fifth of the month Dulhevil, the laſt month of the one thouſand " and ſeventy-third year of the Heijra.

" The ſervant of God who truſted in him,
" Abdalla ebn Mahamed ebn Abebeker,
" of bleſſed memory."

The ſuperſcription,

" To the chief of the nobles, lord and
" governour of Tangier, the earl Ti-
" veot, whom God preſerve."

Another letter.

" In the name of God, the greateſt of all great ones, whom " we worſhip and ſerve, and none other.

" To the moſt excellent count Tiveot, captain-general of Tan- " gier, the juſt and valiant, greeting, and deſiring that he may " have health and proſperity, which we value much.

" We received the ſervants of your excellency in our country, " for whom we have done what we are able, and have commanded " our vaſſals to guard them to Tangier. The preſent made us by " your excellency we kindly receive. God augment your honour " and happineſs.

" In all that is required at our hand, let it be upon our head, " that we ſerve you with much willingneſs: being that as we are " made friends, we eſteem your friendſhip much. My ſon and " couſins greet your excellency, deſiring God that you may have " health."

Subſcribed,

Almocadem Caſſian Shat.

This

This Shat is reported to be an Andaluſian, of the race of the Moors, baniſhed from Spain: he hath hereditary to his family, the command of Anjera, which is a large cavila adjoining unto Tangier.

Mr. Lancelot Addiſon gives this ſhort account of an intended deſign againſt Tangier, but it had not the ſeeming deſired effect (6).

The envoy don Diego Felippe de Palma, ſays he, having from Ceuta adviſed Cidi el Hader Ben Ali Gaylan, that he was come from the crown of Spain on a meſſage to his excellency (Gaylan's title) and deſired to know when and where he ſhould have permiſſion and ſecurity to deliver it. Gaylan returned him for anſwer, that on the tenth of September, our ſtile, one thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-three, at a place equally diſtant from Ceuta and Tetuan: accordingly don Diego went and ſtayed ſome time at Tetuan, and then returned to Ceuta.

The buſineſs and deſign of this embaſſy met with diverſity of conjectures: by ſome it was ſuppoſed that don Diego was ſent to ſolicit larger privileges for the Spaniſh garriſons on the Barbarian coaſt: others concluded, that the duke of Medina Celi, envious at the earl of Tiveot's ſucceſſes againſt the Moors, and his truce concluded with Gaylan, cauſed this meſſenger (a creature of his own) to be ſent with inſtructions to interrupt and diſturb the new correſpondence and amity between Tangier and El Hader: but to find out the riddle, I ploughed, ſays Mr. Addiſon, with one of their own heifers, having employed a Moor verſed in public affairs, (and recommended to me by that great lover of the Engliſh, Cidi Abdelcrim Nacſis, then chief governour of Tetuan) who from the Spaniards inquiſitiveneſs after the ſtate and condition of Tangier, the number of ſoldiers, the quantity of the conſtant guards, the height and ſtrength of the walls, the ſituation and

(6) Short Narrative of Weſt Barbary, p. 109.

number

number of the guns ready mounted, &c. with the deſign of a Moriſco habit to take a narrow view of the whole place, which in Gaylan's company within a few days after he performed, filled us with jealouſies, that ſome miſchief was intended againſt Tangier: and it is very certain, that the fore-mentioned duke had an evil eye upon the immortal Tiveot, for the renowned victories which under the moſt Chriſtian king he achieved againſt his nation's intereſt in the Low Countries, which aged choler he found highly inflamed by the victories gained by that indefatigable captain over his Moriſco neighbours, which inſtigated the duke's ſpleen not ſo much againſt Tangier, as its reſtorer Tiveot, who, being at this time in England, took the advantage of his abſence to diſgrace him (if any ſuch thing had been poſſible) with his new confederate Gaylan.

Before I attempt to deſcribe the Calpeian hill, I ſhall return back to Cadiz; of which I have almoſt ſufficiently treated, in its ancient ſtate, to the demolition by mutual conſent of the Moors, being a bone of contention to thoſe people. It was rebuilt by the Spaniards, after their ſucceſsful arms had drove the Mahometans from their inland poſſeſſions to the ſhores of the Straits' mouth.

I muſt, as I am embarked upon the rapid Strait, renew my former ſubject of the current, that has been thought to ſet conſtantly into the Mediterranean ſea: the firſt is the opinion of Mr. T. Smith, and the ſecond, of Dr. Halley: and firſt, Mr. T. Smith, F. R. S. was of opinion, "That there was an under current, "whereby as great a quantity of water is carried out, as comes "flowing in: for (ſays he (7) an able ſeaman told me, when he "was in the Baltic, in a king's frigate, that they went in their "pinnace into the middle ſtream, and were carried violently by "the current: that ſoon after, they ſunk a bucket with a large "cannon bullet to a certain depth of water, which gave check to

(7) Miſcellanea Curioſa, Part XII. Vol. III.

" the boat's motion, and ſinking it ſtill lower and lower, the boat " was driven ahead to windward againſt the upper current: the " current aloft not being above four or five fathom deep, and that " the lower the bucket was let fall, they found the under current " ſtronger." I ſhall now proceed to the opinion of Dr. Halley, F. R. S. as was by him preſented to the Royal Society.

This worthy perſon is pleaſed to inform us from undoubted experiments of the exhalations of warm water, by which he ſhews, that the thickneſs of the water evaporated to have been the fifty-third part of an inch in two hours; but ſays he, " We will ſuppoſe it only the ſixtieth part for the facility of calculation: if, therefore, water as warm as the air in ſummer, exhales the thickneſs of a ſixtieth part of an inch in two hours from its whole ſurface, in twelve hours it will exhale the $\frac{1}{10}$ of an inch; which quantity will be found abundantly ſufficient to ſerve for all the rains, ſprings, and dews; and account for the Caſpian ſea being always at a ſtand, neither waſting nor overflowing; as likewiſe for the current ſaid to ſet always in at the Straits of Gibraltar, though thoſe Mediterranean ſeas receive ſo many and ſo conſiderable rivers.

" To eſtimate the quantity of water ariſing in vapours out of the ſea, I think I ought to conſider it only for the time the ſun is up, for when the dews return in the night, as many, if not more, vapours are then emitted, and in ſummer the days being no longer than twelve hours, this exceſs is balanced by the weaker action of the ſun, eſpecially when riſing before the water be warmed: ſo that if I allow $\frac{1}{10}$ of an inch of the ſurface of the ſea, to be raiſed per diem in vapours, it may not be an improbable conjecture: upon this ſuppoſition, every ten ſquare inches of the ſurface of the water, yields in vapours per diem a cube inch of water; and each ſquare foot, half a wine pint; every ſpace of four feet ſquare, a gallon; a mile ſquare, ſix thouſand nine hundred and fourteen tons; a ſquare degree, ſuppoſe of ſixty-nine Engliſh miles, will

evaporate thirty-three millions of tons: and if the Mediterranean be eſtimated at forty degrees long, and four broad, allowances being made for the places, where it is broader, by thoſe where it is narrower (and I am ſure I gueſs at the leaſt) there will be one hundred and ſixty ſquare degrees of ſea; and conſequently the whole Mediterranean muſt loſe in vapour, in a ſummer's day, at leaſt five thouſand two hundred and eighty millions of tons: and this quantity of vapour, though very great, is as little as can be concluded from the experiment produced: and yet there remains another cauſe, which cannot be reduced to rule, I mean the winds, whereby the ſurface of the water is licked up ſometimes faſter than it exhales by the heat of the ſun, as is well known to thoſe that have conſidered thoſe drying winds which blow ſometimes.

"To eſtimate the quantity of water the Mediterranean ſea receives from the rivers that fall into it, is a very hard taſk, unleſs one had the opportunity to meaſure their channels and velocity; and therefore we can only do it by allowing more than enough, that is, by preſuming theſe rivers to be greater than in all probability they are, and then comparing the quantity of water voided by the Thames with that of thoſe rivers, whoſe waters we deſire to compute.

"The Mediterranean receives theſe conſiderable rivers; the Iberus, the Rhone, the Tiber, the Po, the Danube, the Neiſter, the Boryſthenes, the Tanais, and the Nile; all the reſt being of no great note, and their quantity of water inconſiderable. Theſe nine rivers, we will ſuppoſe each of them to bring down ten times as much water as the river Thames; not that any of them is greater in reality, but to comprehend with them all the ſmall rivulets that fall into the ſea, which otherwiſe I know not how to admit. To calculate the water of the Thames, I preſume that at Kingſton bridge, where the flood never reaches, and the water always runs down, the breadth of the channel is one hundred yards, and its depth three, it being reduced to an equality (in

both which ſuppoſitions I am ſure I take the moſt) hence the profile of the water in this place is three hundred ſquare yards: this multiplied by forty-eight miles (which I allow the water to run in twenty-four hours, at two miles an hour) or eighty-four thouſand four hundred and eighty yards gives twenty-five million three hundred and forty-four thouſand cubic yards of water to be evacuated every day; that is, twenty million three hundred thouſand tons per diem; and I doubt not, but in the exceſs of my meaſures of the channel of the river, I have made more than ſufficient allowance for the waters of the Brent, the Wandel, the Lea, and Darwent, which are all worth notice, that fall into the Thames below Kingſton. Now if each of the aforeſaid nine rivers yield ten times as much water as the Thames doth, it will follow, that each of them yields but two hundred and three millions of tons per diem, and the whole nine but one thouſand eight hundred and twenty-ſeven millions of tons in a day; which is but little more than one third of what is proved to be raiſed in vapour out of the Mediterranean in twelve hours time. Now what becomes of this vapour when raiſed, and how it comes to paſs that the current always ſets in at the mouth of the Straits of Gibraltar, ſhall immediately be ſhewed: but firſt it is neceſſary to advertiſe the reader, that in making the experiment herein mentioned, the water uſed had been ſalted to the ſame degree as is the common ſea water, by the ſolution of about a fortieth part of ſalt.

"Having thus ſhewed by experiment the quantity of water raiſed in vapour from the ſurface of the ſea in a day's time, which was ſo far approved of by ſome honourable members of this ſociety, that I received their commands to proſecute theſe enquiries; and particularly as to the method uſed by nature, to return the ſaid vapours again into the ſea; which is ſo juſtly performed, that in many hundreds of years we are ſufficiently aſſured, that the ſea has not ſenſibly decreaſed by the loſs in vapour, nor yet abounded by the immenſe quantity of freſh it receives continually from the

rivers.

rivers. To demonſtrate this equilibre of receipt and expence in the whole ſea, is a taſk too hard for me to undertake, yet in obedience to thoſe whom I have the honour to ſerve, I ſhall here offer what to me has hitherto ſeemed the moſt ſatisfactory account of this grand phænomenon. I have in another place attempted to explain the manner of the riſing of vapour by warmth, by ſhewing, that if an atom of water was expanded into a ſhell or bubble, ſo as to be ten times as big in diameter as when it was water, ſuch an atom would become ſpecifically lighter than air, and riſe ſo long, as that flatus or warm ſpirit that firſt ſeparated it from the maſs of water, ſhall continue to diſtend it to the ſame degree; and that warmth declining, and the air growing cooler and alſo ſpecifically lighter, the vapours conſequently ſhall ſtop at a certain region of the air, or elſe deſcend, which may happen upon ſeveral accounts, as I ſhall by and by endeavour to make out; yet I undertake not that this is the only principal cauſe of the riſe of vapours, and that there may not be a certain ſort of matter, whoſe conatus may be contrary to that of gravity, as is evident in vegetation, where the tendency of the ſprouts is directly upwards, or againſt the perpendicular: but whatever is the true cauſe, it is in fact certain, that warmth does ſeparate the particles of water, and emit them with a greater velocity as the heat is more and more intenſe; as is evident in the ſteam of a boiling cauldron, wherein likewiſe the velocity of the aſcent of the vapours does viſibly decreaſe till they diſappear, being diſperſed into and aſſimilated with the ambient air. Vapours being thus raiſed by warmth, let us only firſt ſuppoſe, that the whole ſurface of the globe to be all water very deep, or rather that the whole body of the earth to be water, and that the ſun had its diurnal courſe about it: I take it, that it would follow, that the air of itſelf would imbibe a certain quantity of aqueous vapours, and retain them, like ſalts diſſolved in water; that the ſun warming the air, and raiſing a more plentiful vapour from the water in the day time, the air

would

would ſuſtain a greater proportion of vapour, as warm water will hold more diſſolved ſalts, which upon the abſence of the ſun in the nights would be all again diſcharged in dews, analogous to the precipitation of ſalts on the cooling of the liquors; nor is it to be believed, that in ſuch caſe there would be any diverſity of weather, other than periodically, every year alike; the mixture of all terreſtrious, ſaline, heterogeneous vapours being taken away, which, as they are variouſly compounded and brought by the winds, ſeem to be the cauſes of thoſe various ſeaſons which we now find. In this caſe the airy regions every where, at the ſame height, would be equally repleniſhed with the proportion of water it could contain, regard being only to be had to the different degree of warmth, from the nearneſs or diſtance of the ſun; and an eternal eaſt wind would blow all round the globe, inclining only to the ſame ſide of the eaſt, as the latitude doth from the equator, as is obſerved in the ocean between the tropics.

"Next let us ſuppoſe this ocean interſperſed with wide and ſpacious tracts of land, with high ridges of mountains, ſuch as the Pyrenean, the Alps, the Appennine, the Carpathian in Europe, Taurus, Caucaſus, Imaus, and ſeveral others in Aſia; Atlas, and the Montes Lunæ, with other unknown ridges in Africa, whence came the Nile, the Niger, and the Zaire: and in America, the Andes, and the Apalachian mountains, each of which far ſurpaſs the uſual height, to which the aqueous vapours of themſelves aſcend, and on the tops of which the air is ſo cold and rarified, as to retain but a ſmall part of thoſe vapours that ſhall be brought thither by winds: thoſe vapours therefore that are raiſed copiouſly in the ſea, and by the wind carried over the low land to thoſe ridges of mountains, are there compelled, by the ſtream of the air, to mount up with it to the tops of the mountains, where the water preſently precipitates, gleeting down by the crannies of the ſtone; and part of the vapour entering into the caverns of the hills, the water thereof gathers as in an alembic into the baſons

of

of ſtone it finds, which being once filled, all the overplus of water that comes thither runs over by the loweſt place, and breaking out by the ſides of the hills, forms ſingle ſprings: many of theſe running down by the vallies or guts between the ridges of the hills, and coming to unite, form little rivulets, or brooks: many of theſe again, meeting in one common valley, and gaining the plain ground, being leſs rapid, become a river, and many of theſe being united in one common channel, make ſuch ſtreams as the Rhine, the Rhone, the Danube; which latter, one would hardly think the collection of water condenſed out of vapour, unleſs we conſider how vaſt a tract of ground that river drains, and that it is the ſum of all thoſe ſprings, which break out on the ſouth ſide of the Carpathian mountains, and on the north ſide of the immenſe ridge of the Alps, which is one continued chain of mountains from Switzerland to the Black ſea: and it may almoſt paſs for a rule, that the magnitude of a river, or the quantity of water it evacuates, is proportionable to the length and height of the ridges, from whence its fountains ariſe.

" Now this theory of ſprings is not a bare hypotheſis, but founded on experience, which it was my luck to gain in my abode at St. Helena, where, in the night time, on the tops of hills, about eight hundred yards above the ſea, there was ſo ſtrange a condenſation, or rather precipitation of the vapours, that it was a great impediment to my celeſtial obſervations; for in the clear ſky, the dew would fall ſo faſt, as to cover, each half quarter of an hour, my glaſſes with little drops; ſo that I was neceſſitated to wipe them ſo often, and my paper on which I wrote my obſervations would immediately be ſo wet with dew, that it would not bear ink: by which it may be ſuppoſed how faſt the water gathers in thoſe mighty high ridges I juſt now mentioned. Thus is one part of the vapours blown upon the land returned by the rivers into the ſea, from whence they came; another part by the cool of the night falls in dews, or elſe in rains again into the ſea, before

it

it reaches the land, which is by much the greateſt part of the whole vapours, becauſe of the great extent of the ocean, which the motion of the wind does not traverſe in a very long ſpace of time; and this is the reaſon why the rivers do not return ſo much into the Mediterranean, as is extracted into vapour: a third part falls on the Low-Lands, and is the pabulum of plants, where yet it does not reſt, but is again exhaled in vapour by the action of the ſun, and is either carried by the winds to the ſea, to fall in rain or dew there, or elſe to the mountains to be there turned into ſprings; and though this does not immediately come to paſs, yet after ſeveral viciſſitudes of riſing in vapour, and falling in rain or dews, each particle of the water is at length returned to the ſea from whence it came: add to this, that the rain waters, after the earth is fully ſated with moiſture, do, by the valleys or lower parts of the earth, find their way into the rivers, and ſo are compendiouſly ſent back to the ſea: after this manner is the circulation performed, and I doubt not, that this hypotheſis is more reaſonable than that of thoſe, who derive all ſprings from the rain waters, which yet are perpetual, and without diminution, even when no rain falls for a long ſpace of time; or that derive them from a filtration or percolation of the ſea waters through certain imaginary tubes or paſſages within the earth, wherein they loſe their ſaltneſs: this, beſides many others, labouring under this principal abſurdity, that the greateſt rivers have their moſt copious fountains further from the ſea, and whither ſo great quantities of freſh water cannot reaſonably be derived any other way than in vapour: this, if we may allow final cauſes, ſeems to be the deſign of the hills, that their ridges being placed through the midſt of the continents, might ſerve as it were for alembics to diſtil freſh water for the uſe of man and beaſt, and their heights to give a deſcent to thoſe ſtreams to run gently, like ſo many veins of the microcoſm, to be the more beneficial to the creation. If the difference between rain and dew, and the cauſe why ſometimes it is cloudy,

at

at other times ſerene, be enquired, I can offer nothing like a proper ſolution thereof, only with ſubmiſſion to propoſe conjectures, which are the beſt I can find, viz.

" That the air being heaped up by the meeting of two contrary " winds, when the mercury is high, the vapours are the better " ſuſtained and kept from coagulating, or condenſing into drops, " whereby clouds are not ſo eaſily generated, and in the night, " the vapours fall down ſingle, as they roſe in imperceptible atoms " of water: whereas, when the mercury is low, and the air rari- " fied by the exhauſting thereof, by two contrary winds blowing " from the place, the atoms of air keep the vapours not ſo well " ſeparated, and they coaleſce into viſible drops in the clouds, and " from thence are eaſily drawn into greater drops of rain, to " which it is poſſible, and not improbable, that ſome ſort of ſaline, " or angular particles of terreſtrial vapour being immixed with the " aqueous, which I take to be bubbles, may cut or break their " ſkins or coats, and ſo contribute to their more ſpeedy condenſa- " tion into rain."

CHAP. II.

A DESCRIPTION OF CADIZ, WITH A PLAN; AND MANY PARTICULARS RELATIVE TO ITS STRENGTH AND COMMERCE.

GADES has produced a great many illuſtrious and learned men: L. Junius Moderatus Columella, author of the book of huſbandry, was born there, as alſo Canius, a poet, in the reign of Galba.

Otho, the Roman emperour, was the firſt who joined Mauritania Tingitana to Bætica, making it the juriſdiction of Gades.

Balbus, one of Cæſar's moſt zealous partiſans, was a native of Gades, or, according to others, of Carteia: Sidonius Apollinaris commends ſome memoirs written by Balbus after the manner of a

journal: "Quis Balbi ephemeridem, ſays he, fando adæquaverit?" "Who can ſufficiently expreſs the value of Balbus's journal?" He was admitted to the rights of a Roman citizen; and had the glory of being the firſt foreigner who was honoured with this mark of diſtinction, in the ſeven hundred and twenty-ninth year of Rome; Auguſtus wiſely overlooking ancient cuſtoms to honour and reward valour, without diſtinction, in men of all nations (1).

Domitia Paulina, the mother of Adrian, was born alſo at Gades.

To recite the whole number of great men this country produced before ſuperſtition took ſo vaſt a hold of the natives, would ſwell this work too much: I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that the period, when arts and ſciences began firſt to flouriſh in Spain, can only be conjectured: that they had an excellent genius for them, is evident from the great number of excellent men it has produced, and mentioning three only, of the moſt illuſtrious, to wit (2), the famed ſtoic philoſopher Seneca, the learned orator Quintilian, and the great coſmographer Pomponius Mela, with emperours, conſuls, tribunes, quæſtors, &c. And though other European nations are found to have been very ſlow and late in cultivating the arts and ſciences, ſuch as the Gauls, Germans, and others, who affected a ſingular contempt for them, as unſuitable to, and unworthy of, their martial genius; yet, conſidering the vaſt concourſe of foreign nations into this kingdom, their excellent ſituation for trade and commerce, the great quantities and variety of metals which it afforded, it is very reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that they began to encourage them much earlier than any of their neighbours; and it ſeems indeed almoſt impoſſible they could have ſubſiſted without them, conſidering the continual invaſions to which they were expoſed, and the many enemies they were forced to

(1) Univ. Hiſt. Vol. xiii. B. iii. c. xvii. p. 513. (2) Idem, Vol. xviii. B. iv. c. xxiv. p. 495.

engage.

engage. Even learning, and the liberal arts, began, ſays Strabo (3), early to flouriſh here; for he ſays, that the Turditani, a people of Bætica, were become very famous for them, and were poſſeſſed of a vaſt number of volumes of great antiquity, and bodies of laws written in verſe, and other pieces of poetry of above ſix thouſand years ſtanding, which laſt, however exaggerated, doth at leaſt ſhew, that there was ſome foundation for their pretence of having been early encouragers of ſeveral kinds of it: and this is further confirmed by ſeveral other ancient authors, particularly one of their own nation (4), but more manifeſtly by what Pliny writes (5), of one Lartius Licinius, a private perſon, who made no difficulty to give an immenſe ſum, no leſs than forty thouſand nummi for a book of Pliny the younger's commentaries.

Gades has had her earls and dukes; but in one thouſand four hundred and ninety-two, king Ferdinand and Iſabella, upon the death of the duke of Cadiz, thought it more expedient to give the title of the duke of Arcos to his ſon don Rodrigo Ponce de Leon, together with a certain number of vaſſals, and an annual penſion, than to ſuffer the port and iſland of Cadiz to remain in the hands of that or any other family (6).

Cadiz was called by the Romans Gades, by the Phœnicians Gadir or Gaddir, i. e. an incloſure, or place hedged round, and by miſtake ſome of the Ancients have given it the name of Tarteſſus. The Tyrians firſt built it, and after them it was poſſeſſed by the Carthaginians, from them it deſcended to the Romans, then to the Goths; and when the Moors prevailed, it was demoliſhed by that jealous people; and long after rebuilt by the Spaniards, when they had re-eſtabliſhed themſelves in this part of Spain: however, upon the advancement of the Chriſtians in Spain, towards the coaſt of the Straits' mouth, I find they muſt have repoſſeſſed them-

(3) Lib. III. (4) Pomp. Sil. Ital. Columel. Martial. Lucan. & alii. (5) Epiſt. lib. III. (6) Luc. Marin. Sicul.

ſelves of Cadiz, and once more fortified that place; for prince Peter, in the reign and minority of Alphonſo the eleventh, whoſe province was to take care of Atala and Andaluſia, marched at the head of a great convoy, to relieve Cadiz, which wanted it, and defeated a conſiderable body of Moors, who would have oppoſed him, killing fifteen hundred of them: and in one thouſand two hundred and ſixty-nine don Alphonſo went to Seville to oppoſe himſelf againſt the king of the Moors, and to prevent the deſigns of conſpirators, ſummoning to the aſſembly thereof all his knights and other faithful ſubjects; having raiſed a great army, an occaſion offered to attack Cadiz, which was now in poſſeſſion of the Moors, he did therefore ſuddenly aſſail, and took the city and iſland, being neglected and ill guarded, which was under the protection of the king of Morocco. Here the Chriſtians got great ſpoil; but as he wanted people to eſtabliſh a colony, he left it in the poſſeſſion of the Moors (7).

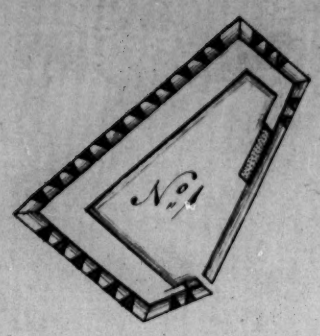
After this, the Spaniards took that place, which has been ever ſince watched with a cautious eye, though not with that attention the port merits.

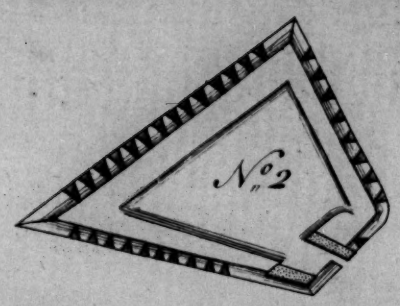
It is a famous trading city of Andaluſia, built on the N. W. extremity of the long and irregular neck of land of an iſland which extends itſelf from S. E. to N. W. the eaſtern part of which is called Cadiz, and the S. E. part the iſland of Leon: it is joined to the main land, from which only a narrow channel or arm of the ſea ſeparates it, by means of the bridge Suaco, both ends of this being defended by redoubts, and other works thrown up of earth. The iſland, from fort St. Catharine, to the iſland of St. Pedro, raiſed on an end of flat rocks projecting eighteen hundred yards from the ſouth end of the iſle of Leon, which defends that part, and covers the entrance of St. Peter's river, and meanders round the iſle: it makes a vaſt variety of indented creeks on the continent, and a

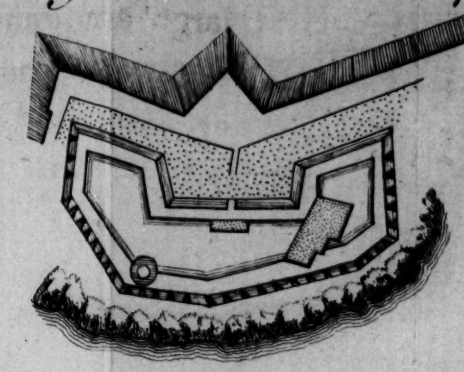
(7) Turquet, B. XII. p. 296.

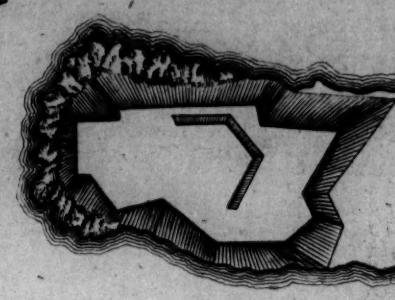
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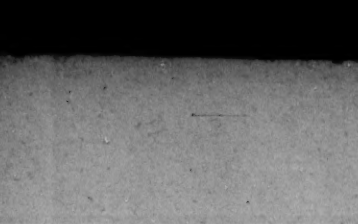
Plan of the Bay and Town of Cadiz, of the



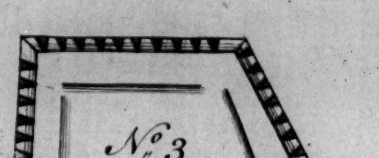






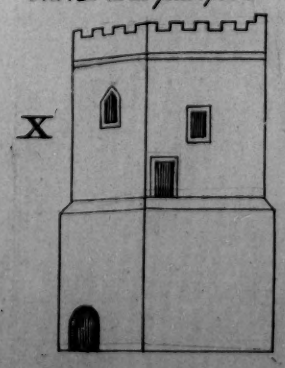


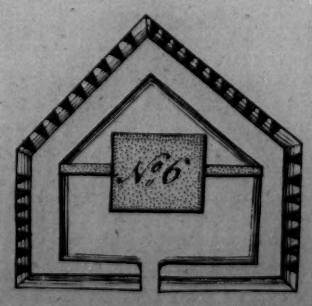


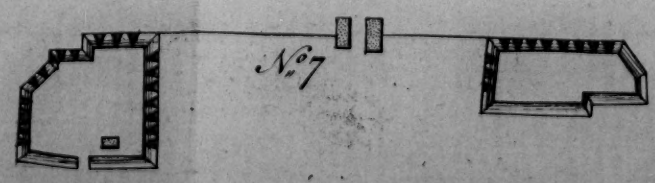


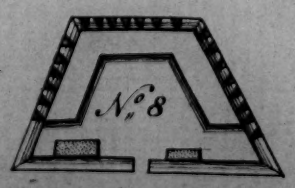


Tho.s Davies fecit 1768.

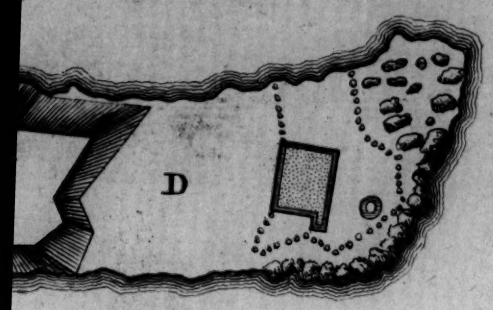


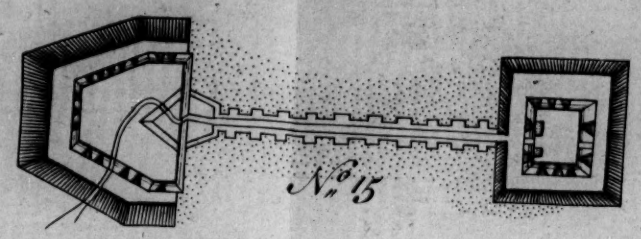


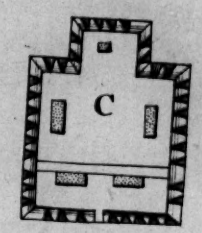




of the River of S.t Lucar de Barameda, and its Environs.

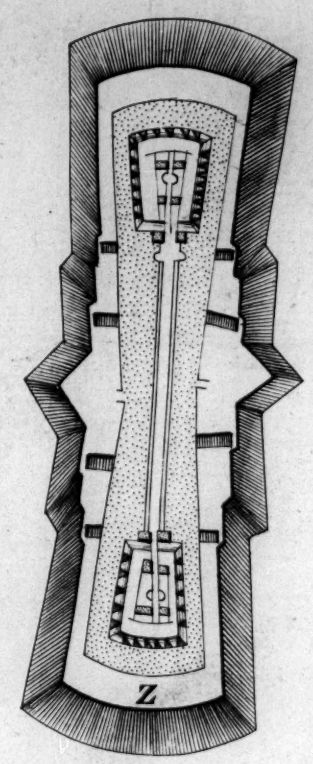




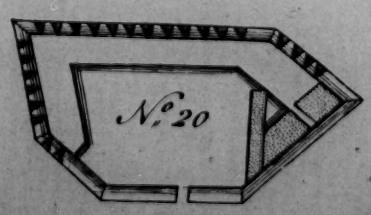




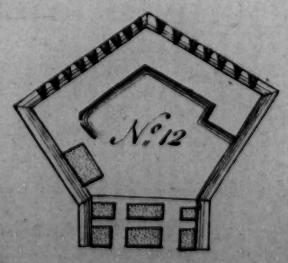


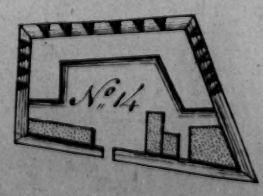


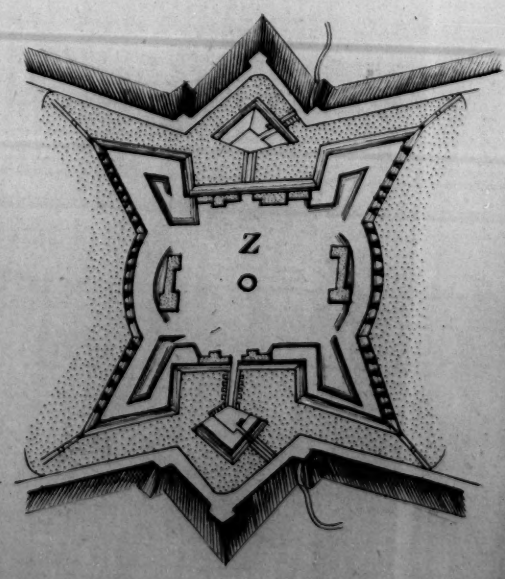
Tho.s Kitchin Sculp.











large arm runs up to the town of Chicalana. This part of the continent round to Port Royal, is low meadow or marſhy ground; the back land riſes, and produces grain.

I muſt refer the following deſcription of the country to the plan of the bay of Cadiz, &c.

Plan of the bay and town of Cadiz, the river of St. Lucar de Barameda and its environs.

A Cadiz.
B the Pontal.
C the Matagorde.
D fort St. Sebaſtian.
E fort St. Catharine.
F port St. Mary.
G port Royal.
H fort St. Louis.
I the bay of Cadiz.
K the town of Chicalana.
L St. Peter's river.
M iſle of Cadiz.
N St. Peter's river.
O the river Guadalette.
P fort St. Catharine.
Q town of Rotta.
R Noſtra Senora de Regla.
S St. Lucar's river.
T the town of St. Lucar.
V the Channel.

The firſt redoubt in the ſmall ſhoal, No. 1. [Redoubts intended to be made in the two ſhoals at the entrance of the river St. Lucar, projected by Mr. de Roſmair, engineer.] The ſecond redoubt in the large ſhoal at the entrance of the ſaid river, No. 2.

No. 3. This battery, below the town of St. Lucar, at the point of a rock which projects into the river between the village Chiſſona and St. Lucar.

The ſignal battery on the point of a great ſhoal which Mr. Roſmair propoſed to make near W.

Regla battery. This battery is at the point of a rock at the entrance of the river St. Lucar, No. 4. It is well defended.

X The ſignal tower. This tower is oppoſite the ſhoals at the entrance of the river, from the other ſide of St. Lucar: it is from this

this tower that the town and each ſide of the river receive the ſignals of the fleets, veſſels, and gallies which come either from the weſtern ocean, or the Mediterranean.

No. 6. Battery de las Madranas.

Rotta battery, No. 7. This battery is on the right in going towards Noſtra Senora de Regla, it is a good defence, but the enemy's ſhips avoided it by the quantity of water that they found to go into Cadiz.

Battery on Rotta point, No. 8. This battery is on the point of a rock.

Gueto battery, No. 20.

Vermeca battery, No. 11.

The Miraglos battery, No. 12.

The Moraleca, No. 14.

Fort St. Catharine, taken at the deſcent of the Engliſh, No. 13.

Fort St. Sebaſtian, on the ſide D.

Redoubts of the Swiſs bridge.

The Swiſs bridge, No. 15.

Matagorde fort, on the ſide which looks towards the ſhore on the ſide C.

The Pontal fort, on the ſide B which faces the ſea, and which defends the channel of the bay.

Z redoubts between the two ſeas, on the ſide Z. This work, which was made half way between the two ſeas, was conſtructed and projected by Mr. Darnous, intendant of the marine, but as it did not cover all the ground, and the enemy might go by without being ſeen by the redoubts, I have, ſays this engineer, projected the fort below, which covers all the ground by means of two ravelins, and ſmall ſluices: I fill the ditches with ſea water when occaſion requires it, as the ocean is higher than the bay, therefore they cannot communicate without hurting the bay. The marſhal de Teſſé much approved of this deſign.

M the fort projected to defend the paſſage between the two ſeas. From the ſouth point of the iſland at the mouth of St. Peter's river to the bridge on the ſame river, is above ſeven miles; and from the bridge to the north point, which forms itſelf like a horſe-ſhoe, it is about two miles, and there the bay begins to indent to Port Royal, where the royal navy and the galleons from America ride, and is two miles diſtant from the north point, and nearly twice as far from the bridge.

To the eaſtward of this iſthmus is a ſmall iſland about a mile and a quarter long, and near three quarters of a mile broad, on the ſouth part of which is a battery of five guns, called Fort St. Louis.

From the town of Port Royal projects an iſthmus of land to the ſouthward between the two bays, which is about three miles long, near a mile and a quarter broad towards the town, but not quite a mile at the end.

And near the ſouth weſt point of it is another little iſland about three quarters of a mile long, and two hundred yards broad, on which is a ſmall redoubt called la Matagorde, between which and the ſmall iſthmus of the iſle of Leon, where there is a ſquare fort called the Pontal, is the channel for ſhips up to the town of Port Royal and the Caraccas, where the navy rides.

The diſtance from the Matagorde to the Pontal is about three quarters of a mile, but the channel between them is not above half a mile broad, and the water in this channel is from ſeven and a half to eleven fathom at the north weſt point of the iſthmus oppoſite the town of Port Royal; St. Peter's river empties itſelf into the weſtern bay.

On both ſides of the iſthmus, likewiſe, on the iſle of Leon, are large ſhoals of ſand, ſome projecting above a mile from the ſhore.

About three miles and a half to the weſtward, the river St. Peter empties itſelf into the bay, the river Guadalette falls into it, on the weſt bank, and near the mouth of which, ſtands Port

St. Mary, and almoſt three miles to the ſouthward, where the bay opens wider, is fort St. Catharine, which was taken at the deſcent of the Engliſh: and from fort St. Catharine the bay forms a quarter of a circle to the town of Rotta, which is on the weſt point of the mouth of the bay, oppoſite the town of Cadiz, and diſtant from it near ſeven miles. The coaſt then runs about north weſt for ten miles to Noſtra Senora de Regla, where there is a work that contains twenty-ſix pieces of cannon, which commands the entrance of the river St. Lucar.

On the coaſt between Noſtra Senora de Regla, and the town of Rotta, as well as from Rotta to fort St. Catharine, are ſeveral ſmall forts.

About three miles to the eaſtward of Noſtra Senora de Regla ſtands the town of St. Lucar, on the bank of the river St. Lucar; and between them ſtands the village of Chiſſona, and below St. Lucar is a battery of twenty-ſix pieces on the point of a rock, which projects into the ſea, and nearly oppoſite to this on the other ſide of the river on the point of a great ſhoal is the ſignal battery of ſixteen guns: above the ſignal battery on a riſing ground ſtands the ſignal tower, from whence the town and coaſts receive ſignals of the fleets, ſhips, and gallies which come from the weſtern ocean and the Mediterranean: at the entrance into the river St. Lucar, are two ſhoals, on each of which is a redoubt.

The iſle of Leon itſelf produces little corn, but good Spaniſh wine; and upon it are ſome paſture grounds, and on the ſide of the harbour great quantities of ſalt are made. The fiſhery here is alſo very conſiderable, and particularly great numbers of thunny fiſh are caught, which are commonly from ſix to eight, and ſometimes ten feet long. The neck of land which ſhoots from the iſle of Leon to the city of Gades, is very narrow, and then becomes ſomething broader, with ſeveral windings and angles, terminating at laſt in two head lands, the principal and moſt weſterly of which is called St. Sebaſtian's.

The

The city is pretty large in circuit, yet all the large end of the neck of land is not built upon, and the delightful weſt ſide which is called Sancto Campo, or the church court, is almoſt uninhabited, the only building upon it being a ſpacious hoſpital and two chapels, on account of its being not ſo commodious for the landing of veſſels as the eaſt ſide.

Moſt of the ſtreets are narrow, crooked, indifferently paved, and dirty: but ſome of them are broad, ſtrait, and well paved. The houſes are generally between three and four ſtories high, nearly all of them have a quadrangular area, or what Cervantes ſays, the baſe court; and ſeveral of them are very handſome, beſides which, in hot countries are very beneficial, particularly if they have a tump of orange, citrons, lemons, and pomegranates, or a tinkling fount: the luxuriant vine adds ſhade and beauty.

The lodgings and proviſions are generally dear.

The city is in want of freſh water: and in it are reckoned thirteen convents, among which is alſo a jeſuit's college, ſaid to be the fineſt in Andaluſia; and yet has but one pariſh church, which is the cathedral, though the number of its ordinary inhabitants amounts to forty thouſand, and it contains about five thouſand houſes. Its biſhop is a ſuffragan to the metropolitan of Seville, with an annual revenue of twelve thouſand (Moll ſays twenty thouſand) ducats: his dioceſe conſiſts but of fourteen pariſhes. Here is the royal audience of the Indians, or the Indian board of trade, removed hither from Seville. Both before and after the arrival of the Spaniſh flota from America, and their ſailing from Cadiz thither again, this place is very briſk and ſtirring, from the great number of ſtrangers, who come for the ſake of trade, and ſaid to amount to fifty thouſand. It is the center of all the American trade, to which port the Engliſh, French, Dutch, and Italian merchants ſend their goods, which Spaniſh factors, in their reſpective names, put on board the ſhips for America. Beſides theſe juſt

mentioned, all others, who trade by ſea, have their agents, correſpondents, and commiſſioners at Cadiz; and the conſuls of the aforeſaid nations make a conſiderable figure here.

No people are happier than the trading people of Cadiz; for they ſeldom hazard any thing upon their own account, and enrich themſelves at the coſt of thoſe who ſend them goods: let things go as they will, they are at no loſs. What goods are ſent from Spain itſelf to America are but very inconſiderable. The duty paid by foreign goods is uncommonly great; conſequently the profits of the merchants and their agents are leſs than they might otherwiſe be, were they ſufficiently acquainted with the methods of improving their goods duty-free. The harbour and bay of Cadiz is very fine and ſpacious; and for the defence of the entrance into it, is not only fort Matagorda, but alſo fort Pontal, lying oppoſite to it upon a point of the neck of land on which Cadiz ſtands. The Spaniards commonly call both theſe Los Pontales: between them and the points of land on which the two forts ſtand, the entrance into the harbour, according to Labat, is about five hundred fathoms broad: at ebb tide a great part of the harbour, which is ſaid to be ten French leagues in circuit, lies dry. The outer and furthermoſt bay, which begins between Rotta and St. Sebaſtian, and which extends itſelf to Puerto de Santa Maria, is divided into two parts by the rocks Los Pueros and Diamente.

Cadiz is ſurrounded with walls and irregular baſtions, according as the ſituation of the ground would admit of them. There is no approaching on the ſouth ſide, by reaſon of its high and ſteep ſhore. At preſent it is dangerous landing on the north ſide, as here are ſand banks and rocks under water: but on the S. W. ſide there is a landing place, at which ſtands a ſmall fort called St. Catharine: towards the S. W. point is a ridge of rocks, which at time of flood are partly covered with water: the outermoſt of

theſe

theſe is a ſmall iſland, upon which is a watch tower and light-houſe, together with two chapels, as alſo fort St. Sebaſtian ſtands there.

As Cadiz then can be no where attempted, but at the narroweſt part of the neck of land lying between it and the S. E. part of Leon, this has alſo been fortified: but in one thouſand five hundred and ninety-ſix, the Engliſh, under the earl of Eſſex, landing on the iſland, took and burnt the town, having plundered it of immenſe treaſure, and deſtroyed the galleons in the harbour: after which they quitted the place: but in one thouſand ſeven hundred and two, landing again under the duke of Ormond, on the continent near St. Mary's, in order to attack the Pontal, but not being able to reduce it, they were obliged to re-embark, without effecting any thing but ſeveral miſdemeanours at St. Mary's, for which ſome of the officers were diſgraced and broke.

Hercules's pillars, which are ſaid to have ſtood at the above-mentioned neck of land, are, according to Labat's account, only a couple of round towers, made of maſon work, which in all appearance ſerved anciently for wind-mills. Cadiz lies forty-five miles from Gibraltar (8).

At Cadiz, ſays the reverend Dr. Clarke (9), there are ſome fine pictures of Morellio, particularly an altar-piece, from whence he fell and loſt his life. There are great Roman remains and inſcriptions in the high church, and bits of columns every where ſerving as threſholds and poſts. In the corner of one houſe they have ſtuck into the wall, the remains of a conſular toga: in one convent there is a ſarcophagus, with curious marble bas-reliefs. They diſcovered about the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-two, a beautiful column. In ſhort, the place is plainly a mount, made up of ruins, ſo that, ſays my author, they can hardly ſtir the ground, but the rubbiſh turns up ſomething curious.

(8) Geograph. Dictionary. (9) Clarke's Spaniſh Nation, Letter xi. p. 208.

At Cadiz there is eſtabliſhed an academy of marine guards, who are maintained there, to the number of one hundred and fifty, at the expence of the finances of his catholic majeſty.

This province of Andaluſia is, doubtleſs, the fineſt in Spain: it abounds in wines, fine fruits, oil, vaſt quantities of ſilk, grain, honey, ſugar, horſes, metals, &c. and contains many eminent and mercantile places.

St. Lucar de Barrameda, which is a well built but declining town, at the mouth of the river Guadalquivir, where it has a good harbour: its principal trade is ſalt.

Port St. Mary's enjoys a flouriſhing trade; it lies at the mouth of the little river Guadalete, directly oppoſite to Cadiz, and exceeds it in compaſs of ground, though ſcarcely containing eight thouſand people. Here reſide, in peaceable times, great numbers of Engliſh, French, Dutch, Genoeſe, &c. merchants. Its harbour is the rendezvous of ſome of the Spaniſh gallies; and here they make great quantities of ſalt.

But it is Cadiz that is the moſt eminent and commercial city, and the proper center of the whole Spaniſh American commerce: "Hither, continues Mr. Anderſon (1), other European nations "ſend their merchandize, to be ſhipped off in Spaniſh bottoms "for America, ſheltered (or as the old Engliſh phraſe has it, coloured) "under the names of Spaniſh factors. Thoſe foreign nations "have here their agents and correſpondents, and the conſuls of "thoſe nations make a conſiderable figure. Cadiz has been ſaid "to have the fineſt ſtore-houſes and magazines for commerce of "any city in Europe; and to it the flota and galleons regularly "import the treaſures of Spaniſh America. The proper Spaniſh "merchandizes exported from Cadiz to America are of no great "value; but the duty on the foreign merchandize ſent thither "would yield a great revenue, (and conſequently the profits of

(1) Anderſon on Commerce, appendix, p. 96, 97.

" merchants and their agents would ſink) were it not for the " many fraudulent practices for eluding thoſe duties."

The Spaniards call the two forts of Matagorda and the Pontal, the Pontals: and when an enemy's fleet approaches Cadiz, and thereupon the galleons, &c. are ſaid to be placed behind the Pontals, it is thereby meant, that they are then out of danger from an attack or aſſault.

The number of ſhips that entered the port of Cadiz, in the ſaid year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirty-four, were, five hundred and ninety-ſix Engliſh, two hundred and twenty-eight French, one hundred and forty-ſeven Hollanders, thirteen Swediſh, fourteen Danes, two Portugueſe, two Genoeſe, one Lubecker, and one Hamburgher: in all, one thouſand and four ſhips (2).

In the ſame year, there arrived at Cadiz the treaſure and effects of the flota, viz. 11,011,749 dollars or pieces of eight, in ſpecie, for the commerce, and 1,464,582 for the king: in all, 12,476,331, or about three millions and a half ſterling, excluſive of almoſt five millions of dollars by the aſſogue ſhips, and vaſt quantities of cochineal, indigo, ſugar, chocolate, tobacco, ſnuff, hides, cocoa, copper, drugs, and dying ſtuffs.

Whilſt Sir Benjamin Keene, the Britiſh miniſter, was treating with the court of Madrid of all the commercial differences between the two nations, our London merchants, who traded to Cadiz, handed about a manuſcript paper, tending to prove, that the trade by the ſouth ſea company's annual ſhip directly to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies was not ſo beneficial to the Britiſh nation in general, as was the former method of our ſending goods directly to Cadiz, and thence with the regiſter ſhips to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies (3).

(2) Idem, Vol. II. p. 353. (3) Idem, p. 389.

" Firſt,

	Dollars.
" Firſt, That paper ſuppoſes the whole out-ſet (ſhip and all) of a ſhip of ſix hundred tons, with her cargo, from Cadiz to La Vera Cruz, to amount to	346,903
" Secondly, And the nett returns from La Vera Cruz, (deducting commiſſion, indultos, &c. to be	717,134¼
" deduct the outſet —— ——	346,903
" and then remains the profit ——	370,231¼

" being near one hundred and ſeven per cent. profit: but, if " inſurances are deducted for thoſe, who would not run the riſque " of the ſea, and which in time of peace would not exceed twelve " per cent. then the remaining profit would be ninety-five per " cent. but the chief advantage in this affair is ſuppoſed to ariſe " from having both the ſhip and the king's licence one's own: " for (ſays this author) beſide the conſiderable freights which " ſuch ſhips make, there are very great profits made by the pri- " vileged goods embarked thereon.

" Thirdly, Next, we have the particular aſſortments of ſuch a " cargo, with the ſeveral countries from whence they are had, " viz.

" Firſt,

	Dollars.
" Firſt, Purchaſed chiefly at Cadiz (though not all Spaniſh merchandize) iron, wrought or unwrought, ſteel, wax, (which muſt be whitened at Cadiz (Genoa paper, Brabant linen, Dutch knives, wines, brandy, and ſundry ordinary ſtowage goods, amounting in all to — — —	46,300
" Secondly, Britiſh manufactures, viz. long-ells of various colours, ſoys, ſhalloons, hair and worſted camblets, bays, Spaniſh cloths, worſted ſtockings, hats, and hardware; in all — —	115,500
" Thirdly, From Flanders, ſtamins, coarſe ſoys, buratos, lamparillas, Brabant linen, bleached, and Tournay ditto, unbleached — —	15,800
" Fourthly, From France, Britannias (broad and narrow) Rouen linen, bleached dowlas, Morlaix linen, cambricks, and lawns; amounting to	49,350
" Fifthly, From Germany, Sileſia and Hamburgh linens, lawns, and ſundry other ſorts of linen, thread, callimancoes, &c. — —	22,200
" Sixthly, From Spain, Genoa women's ſtockings, Spaniſh double taffaty of various colours, and Spaniſh velvets — — —	21,000
" Total amount of the cargo in dollars	270,150

" In this aſſortment of goods for the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, the " Britiſh manufactures make up one-third of the whole, which " muſt go by the way of Cadiz, in caſe the aſſiento of the South " Sea company be laid aſide; and by its being ſo laid aſide, the " value of all Engliſh goods ſent from Cadiz to the Spaniſh Weſt " Indies, will be increaſed to at leaſt three millions of dollars, or " above ſix hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand pounds ſterling, " yearly: and ſuppoſing, that in time of peace, nine millions

" value

" value in goods to be annually ſent from Cadiz to the Spaniſh " Weſt Indies, excluſive of Britiſh manufactures, few of which " (according to this author) were ſent that way whilſt the aſſiento " was in exerciſe, and therefore be added the ſaid three millions " in value of Britiſh manufactures, then the diſpatches yearly from " Cadiz to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies will be twelve millions of dol- " lars: now, continues this author, allowing that the Britiſh " merchants ſhould, as eaſily they may, be one-third concerned in " the ſaid trade, which on a moderate computation renders at leaſt " fifty per cent. profit, or two millions of dollars more gained to " our nation. This he thinks, juſt enough from his own pre- " miſes, which, ſays Mr. Anderſon, however ſeem conſiderably ex- " aggerated, will be found to exceed any advantage that has, or " ever can proceed from the aſſiento, by which it is notorious that " the South Sea company have loſt very conſiderably. He therefore " concludes, that the commercial intereſt of Great Britain will be " much benefited by the extinction of the aſſiento: and, with " reſpect to our political intereſt, whilſt the ſaid aſſiento ſubſiſts, " it will prove a continual bone of contention between two na- " tions, whoſe mutual intereſts are, more than any other two na- " tions in Europe, to be cloſely united."

The firſt aſſiento between England and Spain, was made at London about the year one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-nine, for ſupplying the Spaniſh Weſt Indies with negro ſlaves, from the iſland of Jamaica (4).

By the famous treaty of Utrecht, in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen, article the twelfth, is granted (5), " To " her Britannic majeſty, and to the company of her ſubjects " appointed for that purpoſe (i. e. the South Sea company) as " well the ſubjects of Spain as all others being excluded, the contract

(4) Idem, Vol. II. p. 192. (5) Idem, p. 126.

" for

" for introducing of negroes into ſeveral parts of the dominions of " his catholic majeſty in America (commonly called El Pacto del " Aſſiento de Negroes) at the rate of four thouſand eight hundred " negroes yearly, for the ſpace of thirty years ſucceſſively, begin- " ning from the firſt of May one thouſand ſeven hundred and " thirteen, on the ſame conditions on which the French company " had formerly enjoyed it."

[Here, ſays Anderſon, we originally intended to have inſerted the South Sea company's aſſiento contract at large: but, ſays he, as that contract, as well as all the company's other commerce whatever, is long ſince laid aſide, we ſhall ſpare our readers the trouble of enlarging on a ſubject not likely to be ever hereafter renewed.]

[N. B. It is ſaid, that the Britiſh miniſters at firſt demanded a free trade for Great Britain to Spaniſh America: but that was a mere illuſion, ſince it would have inflamed the jealouſy of all the reſt of Europe: yet ſurely, conſidering the ſervice they had done to king Philip, they might have obtained a more favourable aſſiento, ſince it was confeſſed, that all former aſſientiſts had actually been loſers, although on as good terms as the preſent aſſiento, excepting only the annual ſhip, which king Philip allowed to the South Sea company, for the ſaid term of thirty years, of five hundred tons burden, (Spaniſh meaſure) wherewith the ſaid company was to trade to Spaniſh America; but of which the catholic king reſerved one-fourth, beſides five per cent. on the other three-fourths of the gain: thus did our ſaid miniſters, in this reſpect at leaſt, ſuffer us and the South Sea company to be outwitted by the Spaniſh miniſters. It was univerſally known, that the Portugueſe company the firſt, and next the French one, were undone by their aſſiento contracts for ſupplying the Spaniſh Weſt Indies with negroes: and this ſugar plumb of an annual trading ſhip granted to our company was too much clogged with the above difficulties to prove of any certain advantage, more eſpecially con-

ſidering how much the court of Madrid had it in their power to ſuſpend the licence for any ſuch annual ſhip, &c. as they often practiſed, and to ſeize on the company's effects in America at pleaſure.]

The earl of Oxford, lord high treaſurer of Great Britain, and then governour of the South Sea company, did, in a general court of that company, on the ſecond of June, one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen, acquaint that court, "That her majeſty had "preſented the company with the before-mentioned aſſiento con-"tract; and had alſo procured for them two licenſes from the "king of Spain for two ſhips of ſix hundred tons each, for carry-"ing merchandize the firſt year to the northern ports of the Spa-"niſh Weſt Indies, beſide the annual ſhip of five hundred tons:" whereupon the company (fluſhed with ſuch pompous appearances) iſſued two hundred thouſand pounds more in bonds, for vigourouſly carrying on the ſaid trade: and her majeſty lent two of her own ſhips, to be the ſaid two firſt licenſed ſhips, for carrying over the company's goods, factors, and ſervants. But yet the court of directors were not a little ſurpriſed to find, that the queen had reſerved to herſelf, or to her aſſigns, another quarter part of the ſaid aſſiento, beſide her grant of ſeven and a half per cent. to don Manuel Manaſſes Gilligan, the Spaniſh agent at her court, out of the clear profits of the annual ſhip: yet ſhe afterward aſſigned her ſaid quarter part of the aſſiento to the company, on condition that the company ſhould (beſide the above grant to Gilligan) aſſign twenty-one and a quarter per cent. of the clear profits of the annual ſhip to perſons, whom ſhe would afterwards name, who were then ſaid to be lord Bolingbroke, lady Maſham, and Arthur Moore, Eſq; Such were then the wild and ill-grounded expectations from this new trade: yet, on better advice, the queen gave up entirely to the company her ſaid quarter part of the ſuppoſed profits, to the no ſmall mortification of the above named and other courtiers, as was then commonly reported, and generally believed.

Mr.

Mr. Anderſon gives us an amendment made at Madrid to the South Sea company in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventeen (6).

Mr. Bubb, the Britiſh miniſter, in behalf of the South Sea company, now concluded a treaty by way of an explanation or amendation of the aſſiento contract for negroes: but as that trade has been long ſince laid aſide, we ſhall not, ſays my author, detain our readers with what is elſewhere in print, and may likewiſe probably be of very little information or uſe to any at this time, or perhaps at any other period of time: only we may juſt remark, that the annual ſhip allowed, was ſtipulated to be of ſix hundred and fifty tons, Spaniſh meaſure, from the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventeen to the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-ſeven.

In one thouſand ſeven hundred and forty-eight, the general peace of Aix la Chapelle was concluded (7): when, with reſpect to Spain, ſhe acceded to the general tranquillity; but without any particular ſtipulations in point of commerce between Great Britain and her. What related to the South Sea company's commerce on one hand, and the depredations of the Spaniſh guarda coſtas on the other, being referred to the diſagreeable and tedious way of negociating, by Sir Benj. Keene, at Madrid: in the mean time, it was plain, that the court of Spain never intended to permit another annual South Sea ſhip to trade to their Weſt Indies, there being but about four years to run of the term of that contract, viz. forty years from one thouſand ſeven hundred and thirteen to one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-three, the ſeveral interruptions of the trade being deducted or allowed for: and whilſt this ſuſpenſion continued, many things paſſed in converſation, and ſundry eſſays were publiſhed for and againſt that manner of trading. In favour of it, it was ſaid, that the great an-

(6) Vol. II. p. 272. (7) Idem, p. 388.

nual ſhip uſually conveyed about two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds value in manufactures from hence to the Spaniſh Weſt Indies, for the company's account; and that in each of thoſe great ſhips there went about fifty thouſand pounds more in private trade: upon which trade, it was alledged, a profit of near cent. per cent. was made: that therefore the gain to the nation was greater this way than in or by the old channel of our trade by the way of Cadiz, even though the Jamaica ſmuggling trade was included therein: and that, although the South Sea company might not be ſo great gainers, yet their factors, agents, &c. brought home great fortunes, frequently in a very ſhort ſpace of time; and our ſaid annual ſhips cargoes kept out the ſupplying of the Spaniſh Weſt Indies by the French, Dutch, &c. to our nation's great emolument.

On the other hand, it was aſſerted, and very generally believed, that the South Sea annual ſhip had occaſioned a vaſt decreaſe of our annual exports to Spain, (ſome ſaid even ſo much as to one half of former exports) whilſt at the ſame time our imports from Spain have been gradually increaſing: that the ſuperiority of our arms forced the aſſiento contract on Spain againſt their inclinations, and on that ſcore the Spaniſh court and traders have diſcouraged our manufactures formerly ſent to Cadiz, and encouraged thoſe of France, Flanders, and Holland: that of the cargoes of our ſaid annual ſhip itſelf, a great deal conſiſted of the merchandize of foreign nations, and particularly of thoſe of France and Holland, for aſſortments for the Spaniſh markets in America: that the aſſiento contract had enhanced the price of negroes for our own colonies: that our ſupplying the Spaniſh Weſt Indies ſo regularly with negroes had encouraged them to raiſe greater quantities of ſugar and tobacco, to the detriment of our own: that the Spaniſh court having always effects of the South Sea company's in their American ports, had it conſtantly in their power to make ſeizures of thoſe effects on various and often unjuſt

pretences.

pretences. Thus in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and eighteen, the company's loſs hereby was computed at about two hundred and twenty-five thouſand pounds ſterling; in one thouſand ſeven hundred and twenty-ſeven, to about half as much more; beſides the ſeizure by the war now concluded, and not yet juſtly computed, and the many other violences of the Spaniſh American governours and agents. Finally, as the company had undoubtedly, upon the whole, been loſers by their trade, and as they had only four years more of their aſſiento term remaining, which Spain was determined not to renew, at leaſt on any promiſing conditions; for theſe and ſuch like reaſons, it was concluded by the Britiſh court, to inſtruct her miniſter at Madrid, to obtain the beſt equivalent that could be procured for the remaining ſhort term of the company's aſſiento contract.

In one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-three there entered into the port of Cadiz eleven hundred ſhips; and in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-nine, Engliſh one hundred and fourteen, Dutch one hundred and fifty-five, Spaniſh one hundred and ninety-five, French nineteen, Portugueſe twenty-three, Swediſh ſeventeen, Daniſh twenty-four, Genoeſe thirteen, Imperial ſixteen, Venetian two, Neapolitan ſeven, Raguſan thirteen, and Malteſe ſeven. This much ſmaller number than uſual (eſpecially of Engliſh) is owing to the late war: and in one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſixty-one, there arrived the following number, viz.

Engliſh,

Engliſh	87	whereof thirteen were ſhips of war.
Dutch	99	whereof ſixteen were ſhips of war.
Daniſh	41	
French	22	whereof four were ſhips of war.
Spaniſh	195	whereof thirty-two were ſhips of war.
Portugueſe	19	
Imperial	11	
Raguſans	8	
Malteſe	4	
Genoeſe	2	
Savoyards	1	
Neapolitan	5	
	494	ſhips.

The maſter-builder at Cadiz, receives annually 304l. 3s.

The royal audience of commerce to the Indies, at Cadiz (8).

	l.	s.	d.
A preſident, four commiſſioners, a fiſcal, great treaſurer, a depoſitary, a comptroller, a ſecretary, and two porters, the expence with extraordinaries	3301	0	0
To ſupport the academy of mathematics at Cadiz	1888	17	10
Annual produce of tobacco in Cadiz	37902	4	5

We get from Cadiz raw ſilk, balſam of Peru, vanillas, cake-chocolate of Guajaca, ſarſaparilla, ſalted ſea-brizzle, ſaltpetre, ſalt, and ſalt from port St. Mary's; ſnuff, ſoap, and ſeveral drugs of the growths of Spain and America uſed in medicine. As for what comes from other parts of Spain to Britain, I ſhall not mention, as it is quite foreign to this work.

The Spaniſh trade to South America is carried on by annual ſhips, uſually divided into three claſſes, the flota, the regiſter ſhips, and galleons; of which take the following account, in the next chapter.

(8) Clarke's Spaniſh Nation, p. 226—235.

CHAP.

CHAP. III.

OF CADIZ.

THE flota is a fleet conſiſting of three men of war, and fourteen or fifteen merchant ſhips, from four hundred to a thouſand tons burden (1); they are loaded with almoſt every ſort of goods which Europe produces for export; all ſorts of woollens, linens, ſilks, velvets, laces, glaſs, paper, and cutlery; all ſorts of wrought iron, watches, clocks, quickſilver for the uſe of their miners, horſe furniture, ſhoes, ſtockings, books, pictures, military ſtores, wines, fruits, &c. ſo that all the trading parts of Europe are highly intereſted in the cargo of this fleet. Spain itſelf ſends out little more than the wine and fruit; this, with the freight, and commiſſions to the merchants, and the duty to the king, is almoſt all the advantage, which that kingdom derives from her commerce from the Indies. This fleet is fitted out at Cadiz, and bound to La Vera Cruz; they are not permitted to break bulk on any account till they arrive there: when all the goods are landed, and diſpoſed of at La Vera Cruz, the fleet takes in the plate, precious ſtones, cochineal, indigo, cocoa, tobacco, ſugar, and hides, whilch are the returns for Old Spain. From La Vera Cruz they ſail to the Havannah in the iſland of Cuba, which is the place of their rendezvous, where they meet the galleons: theſe are another fleet, which carry on all the trade of Terra Firma, by Carthagena, and of Peru, by Panama and Portobello, in the ſame manner as the flota ſerves for the trade of New Spain. When the flota arrives at the Havannah, and joins the galleons and regiſter ſhips, which aſſemble at the ſame port from all quarters, ſome of the cleaneſt and beſt ſailing veſſels are

(1) Vid. Clarke's Spaniſh Nation, p. 257.

diſpatched

diſpatched to Old Spain, with advice of the contents of theſe ſeveral fleets, as well as with treaſure and goods of their own, that the court may judge what indulto, or duty, is proper to be laid on them, and what convoy is neceſſary for their ſafety.

Regiſter ſhips are ſent out by merchants at Cadiz or Seville, when they judge that goods muſt be wanted at any certain port in the Weſt Indies: the courſe is, to petition the council of the Indies for licenſe to ſend a ſhip of three hundred tons burden, or under, to that port: they pay for this licenſe forty or fifty thouſand dollars, beſides preſents to the officers, in proportion to the connivance neceſſary to their deſign: for though the licenſe runs only to three hundred tons at moſt, the veſſel fitted out is ſeldom leſs than ſix hundred. This ſhip and cargo are regiſtered at the pretended burden: it is required too, that a certificate be brought from the king's officer at the port, to which the regiſter ſhip is bound, that ſhe does not exceed the ſize at which ſhe is regiſtered; all this paſſes of courſe. Theſe are what they call regiſter ſhips, and by theſe the trade of Spaniſh America has been carried on principally for ſome years paſt: which practice has been thought as much to the prejudice of their trade, as it is contrary to all their former maxims for carrying it on.

La Vera Cruz is ſituated on the ſouth weſt part of the gulf of Mexico, and to the ſouth eaſt of that city.

The fleet which is called the galleons, conſiſts of eight men of war of five hundred tons each, deſigned principally to ſupply Peru with military ſtores; but in reality laden, not only with thoſe, but alſo every other kind of merchandize on a private account, ſo as to be in too weak a condition either to defend themſelves, or protect others: under the convoy of theſe are twelve ſail of merchant ſhips, not inferior to the galleons in burden. This fleet of the galleons is regulated in much the ſame manner with the flota, and is deſtined for the excluſive commerce of Terra Firma and the South Sea, as the flota is for that of Mexico.

As

As ſoon as this galleon fleet arrives at Carthagena, expreſſes are diſpatched to Portobello, and to all the adjacent towns, but particularly to Panama, that they may get ready all the treaſure which is depoſited there, to meet the galleons at Portobello; at which place, all the perſons concerned in the various branches of this extenſive trade, aſſemble. There is no part of the world where buſineſs of ſuch great importance is negociated in ſo ſhort a time; for in a fortnight the fair is over; during which, heaps of wedges and ingots of ſilver are thrown about upon the wharfs, as things of no value. The diſplay of gold, ſilver, and precious ſtones on one hand, and of the various and rare workmanſhip of the ſeveral ingenious artificers of Europe on the other, are truly aſtoniſhing!

Carthagena is ſituated on the moſt northern point of Terra Firma. Portobello and Panama are on the oppoſite ſides of the iſthmus of Darien; the firſt on the north eaſt ſide, and the other on the ſouth weſt.

The whole trade between the Eaſt Indies and Spaniſh America, is carried on by one great galleon, which arrives at Acapulco from the Philippine iſlands, on the coaſt of China, in the month of December: they ſee no other land in their whole voyage of three thouſand leagues, which they perform in five months, than the little Ladrones: the ſhip is laden with all the rich commodities of the eaſt, as cloves, pepper, cinnamon, nutmegs, mace, china, japan wares, callicoes plain and painted, muſlin of every ſort, ſilks, precious ſtones, rich drugs, and gold duſt: at the ſame time the rich ſhip from Lima comes in, and is not computed to bring leſs than two millions of pieces of eight in ſilver (four hundred and fifty thouſand pounds ſterling): ſeveral other ſhips, from the different parts of Chili and Peru, meet upon the ſame occaſion; and beſides the traffick for the Philippine commodities, this cauſes a very large dealing for every thing, which thoſe countries have to exchange with one another, as well as for the purchaſe of all ſorts of European goods. The fair at Acapulco laſts ſometimes for

thirty days. As ſoon as the goods are diſpoſed of, the galleon prepares to ſet out on her voyage to the Philippines with her returns, chiefly in ſilver, but with ſome European goods too, and other commodities of America. I ſpeak here, ſays Dr. Clarke, as though there was but one veſſel on the trade with the Philippines; and in fact there is only nominally one trading veſſel, the galleon itſelf being of about twelve hundred tons; but another attends her commonly as a ſort of convoy, which generally carries ſuch a quantity of goods, as in great meaſure diſables her from performing that office: the galleon has often above one thouſand people on board, either intereſted in the cargo, or merely paſſengers, and there is no trade, in which ſo large profits are made; the captain of the veſſel, the pilots, the mates, and even the common ſailors, making in one voyage, what in their ſeveral ranks may be conſidered as eaſy fortunes. It is ſaid by the writer of lord Anſon's voyage, that the jeſuits have the profits of this ſhip to ſupport their miſſions; but that is now over, as they are now extirpated from the Spaniſh nation.

This commerce, ſo very conſiderable, though carried on directly between different parts of the king of Spain's own dominions, enriches them in proportion but very little; the far greater part of every thing which comes from the Philippines, being the produce or fabrication of other countries. The Spaniards add none of the artificial value of labour to any thing. The Chineſe are largely intereſted in this cargo; and it is to them they are indebted for the manufacturing ſuch of their plate, as is wrought into any better faſhion than rude ingots, or inelegant coins. When this Acapulco fair is over, the town is comparatively deſerted; however, it remains for the whole year the moſt conſiderable port in Mexico for the trade with Peru and Chili, which is not very great. The Eaſt India goods brought here, are carried on truckles to Mexico, from whence what exceeds their own conſumption is ſent by land-carriage to La Vera Cruz, to paſs over to Terra Firma, to the iſlands,

iſlands, and ſome even to Old Spain, though in no great quantity.

Acapulco lies two hundred miles ſouth of Mexico, on the South Sea. Mexico, though no port, nor communicating with the ſea by any navigable river, has a prodigious commerce, and is itſelf the center of all the trade that is carried on between America and Europe on the one hand, and between America and the Eaſt Indies on the other; for here the principal merchants reſide, the greateſt part of the buſineſs is negociated, and the goods that paſs from Acapulco to La Vera Cruz, or from La Vera Cruz to Acapulco, for the uſe of the Philippines, and in a great meaſure for the uſe of Peru and Lima, all paſs through this city, and employ an incredible number of horſes and mules in the carriage. Hither all the gold and ſilver is ſent to be coined; here the king's fifth is depoſited; and here is wrought all that immenſe quantity of utenſils and ornaments in plate, which is every year ſent into Europe. Every thing here has the greateſt air of magnificence and wealth: the ſhops glitter on all ſides with the expoſure of gold, ſilver, and jewels, and ſurpriſe yet more by the work of the imagination upon the treaſures, which fill great cheſts piled up to the cielings, whilſt they wait the time of being ſent to Old Spain.

The trade between Spain and her colonies in America, which has been juſt deſcribed, is the moſt conſiderable part of their external commerce, and the great ſupport of their navy; for, till our laſt breach with France, very few of their ſhips are navigated into foreign parts; and the chief ſource that ſupplied the balance of their trade with other nations, aroſe from this branch. Their internal traffick is by no means proportionate to the numbers of their people, the natural advantages of their ſituation and climate, the abundance of raw materials, which the country produces, and their Indies ſupply them with; eſpecially when we reflect on the many years of peace which they have enjoyed, and that com-

merce was never ſo much conſidered by the ſeveral European ſtates, as it is in the preſent age.

The great error of the Spaniſh policy ſeems to be this, they never ſufficiently attended to the truth of the following political maxim, "That induſtry, manual labour, and the arts, are more benefi-"cial, and truer ſources of wealth to a ſtate, than the richeſt "mines of gold and ſilver." Dazzled with the ſpoils of America, they turned their whole attention to ſeize the excluſive poſſeſſion of thoſe ſeeming riches; they neglected agriculture and manufactures, and contracted a contempt for the mechanick, and even liberal arts; in conſequence of which, the country becoming daily leſs populous, their maritime and military ſtrength ſoon declined. Of late years the Spaniſh miniſtry hath been fully ſenſible of this fatal miſtake, and hath endeavoured to raiſe a ſpirit of induſtry among the people, by promoting the eſtabliſhment of manufactures, in various parts of the kingdom: but though they have tempted the people, by exemption from taxes, and many other privileges, yet the progreſs they have made is not ſo conſiderable as might have been expected.

The Spaniards poſſeſſing the richeſt provinces of America, and being maſters of all the ſilver and gold of the new world, would have been in condition to give law to Europe (2), if inſtead of enjoying Mexico, Peru, and Chili, as ſo many demeſnes, they would only have formed ſettlements which would have thrown into their hands the whole trade of thoſe kingdoms. Spain, very populous before the expeditions of Cortez and Pizarro, has weakened itſelf to conquer and preſerve its American poſſeſſions. The Spaniards flocked in crowds to a country where fortune is laviſh of her favours. The court of Madrid themſelves countenanced theſe tranſmigrations; but they perceived at laſt, that Caſtile and Arragon, when ſtocked with people, were a more precious treaſure than the mines of Peru and Chili.

(2) Tindal's Rapin, Vol. XII. in appendix, p. 433, &c.

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In truth, the fields in Spain were deſerted, the manufactures decayed, and the arts ceaſed to be cultivated: in this ſituation, of what benefit to the Spaniards are their American poſſeſſions? The Engliſh, French, and the Dutch, carry on the trade in their name, and of all the treaſure that comes to Cadiz, there remains to Spain only the ſums levied by the king for his indulto, and given to the natives of the country, who lend their name for the commerce: but it muſt be obſerved, that all this money and the ſums which come to Madrid, otherways than by trade, can hardly pay for the foreign goods and wares, which the Spaniards conſume, and are obliged to purchaſe.

It is commonly ſaid to be a happineſs for Europe, that Mexico, Peru, and Chili, are poſſeſſed by ſo idle and indolent a nation: this is an undeniable truth: but it is added, that if an active and ſtirring nation like the Engliſh, French, or Dutch, had ſubdued theſe kingdoms, they would make themſelves maſters of all the riches of the old and new world; and eſtabliſhing their grandeur upon that foundation, they would quickly conquer their neighbours: yet this does not ſo plainly appear; for in the firſt place, it would be a weak undertaking to deſire the conqueſt of the Spaniſh dominions in America: the late abbot du Bos has plainly demonſtrated this propoſition. In the next place, ſuppoſe this conqueſt is made, ſuppoſe the Spaniards are driven from all their maritime places, and the conqueror has penetrated into the country, and ſubdued the Americans: on this ſuppoſition, they who have any knowledge of the government of the Spaniards in the new world, of the ſtate of their forces, and the nature of the country, will agree that ſuch an undertaking will coſt the victorious nation prodigiouſly dear: there will be a neceſſity to keep the vanquiſhed under, and not to ſee a revolt in their new empire, as many troops at leaſt muſt be ſent as the Spaniards actually have there. Now it may be aſked, what power would not be drained by ſuch ſucceſſes? the conqueſt of the Spaniſh Indies will there-

ſore ruin the nation that ſhould make it, and would conſequently cauſe no alteration in the affairs of Europe: for it little concerns trading ſtates, that Peru, Mexico, and Chili, are in the hands of the Spaniards, or any other nation, provided the poſſeſſors of thoſe kingdoms are ſo weakened, that they cannot of themſelves carry on the trade.

What would produce a great revolution among us, is, if America ſhould throw off the Spaniſh yoke, and be governed by its own laws, very probably the rebels, to bribe the Europeans not to aſſiſt the Spaniards againſt them, would open all their ports, and pour forth their riches; but this would be a tranſient proſperity: the Americans would ſoon have our arts and manufactures; their lands would produce our fruits, and conſequently having no occaſion for our goods and merchandizes, Europe would ſink again into the ſame ſtate of indigence in which it was about four centuries ago.

Happily there is not the leaſt appearance of ſuch an event, the dominion of the Spaniards as mild now as it was formerly terrible, is eſtabliſhed over the natives of the country. The ſpirit and manners of the Spaniards have paſſed into America, and the government of Madrid is ſettled in ſuch a manner, that a viceroy of the Indies cannot think of making himſelf independent, though nature ſhould have given him the ambition and talents of a Sylla, a Cæſar, or a Cromwell. America was ever attached to its duty during the war of one thouſand ſeven hundred and one; if there were in thoſe vaſt kingdoms any ſeeds of rebellion, they ſprung up doubtleſs at the time when two princes were contending for the ſucceſſion of Charles the ſecond, and when neither of them had an abſolute authority. The inquiſition is likewiſe a ſtrong fence againſt revolutions; it accuſtoms people to think always the ſame way, and unites them by the ſame faith; and in a monarchy like the Spaniſh, where the prince holds in his hands all the forces of the ſtate, diviſions and troubles can ariſe only from difference

ference of opinions in religion; and therefore, who can ſay, that if the doctrines of Luther or Calvin ſhould creep into Spain, they would not have the ſame conſequences as heretofore in Germany and France.

Spain ſeems, by the form of its government, to be ſecured from all revolution: but there ſometimes ariſe in the body politic unforeſeen maladies, the rapid progreſs whereof no remedy can ſtop. Hiſtory affords a thouſand events, perhaps more extraordinary than the revolution in queſtion; we ourſelves were very near being witneſſes of a remarkable one, if it be true, that in the diſtreſſes of the war of one thouſand ſeven hundred and one, Philip the firſt reſolved to abandon Spain to his rival, and go with his court to the Weſt Indies, and eſtabliſh the ſeat of a new empire.

By this ſhort ſketch upon trade, it may be perceived that it forms a too conſiderable object not to be neceſſarily regulated by laws: this is a thing of immenſe extent. Conventions of little importance will not be mentioned, ſuch as can only cauſe proceſſes among private perſons, and are cognizable only by the judges of the admiralty: but after a particular account of what concerns the common law of nations at ſea, and the general terms which ſerve for a baſis to all the treaties of trade and navigation, the mutual engagements ſhall be related, ſays my author, which the powers of Europe have entered into: to theſe conventions I muſt refer my readers, and ſhall now return from this digreſſion.

The writ anciently ſent to each city, as a ſummons to parliament, convened all the prelates, maſters of the military orders of knighthood, earls, rich men, nobles, and procurators of the cities and towns throughout the realm. I find that Cadiz ſent two to the cortes for Caſtile, in one thouſand three hundred and ninety, and in the reign of don Henry the ſecond of Caſtile.

Among the four ſuffragans to the archbiſhop of Seville, I find don Franciſco Thomas del Valle, biſhop of Cadiz, at two thouſand pounds per annum.

In

In one thouſand three hundred and ſixty-one, in the month of January, the king of Caſtile ordered the grand maſter of Calatrava, accompanied by don Henry Henriquez, and ſome other old officers, with a thouſand horſe, and two thouſand foot, to ſurpriſe Cadiz, which, though a place of ſo great importance to the king of Granada, was, according to his intelligence, but indifferently guarded. Artifices of this kind were familiar to the Moors; the army of Caſtile advanced near the place without diſcovering an enemy; a ſmall party was detached to the very ſuburbs of the city, to gain intelligence, and a more conſiderable body followed to ſupport them: the firſt ſaw no troops, the latter retired, from an apprehenſion of an ambuſcade, without being purſued. This proceeding was too fine for the Chriſtian generals, they concluded the city to be defenceleſs and ſecure; upon which, they ſent off detachments to plunder the country on every ſide. As ſoon as thoſe detachments were at a conſiderable diſtance, a ſmall detachment of Mooriſh horſe came out of the city, and ſkirmiſhed with the like number of Chriſtians, who paſſed the bridge for that purpoſe. By degrees the Moors grew ſtronger, the remains of the army under the command of the generals, were obliged to engage to bring off their friends. It was then that they ſaw their ruin plainly; a great body of Moors having paſſed the river, attacked them in the rear, and the Chriſtians being ſurrounded, were very ſpeedily defeated, the grand maſter, don Henry, and moſt of the chief commanders, being taken priſoners (3).

Vertot (4) tells us, that in one thouſand ſix hundred and forty-one, there was a deep-laid plot, by the duke of Medina Sidonia, the king of Portugal, and the marquis Daiamonti, with others, to have wreſted the province of Andaluſia from the crown of Spain, and to have made it a ſeparate kingdom, governed by the duke

(3) Chronica del Rey don Pedro de Ped. Lopez de Ayala. (4) Vertot's Revol. Portugal, p. 99.

of

of Medina Sidonia; but this plot was diſcovered by the folly of Nicholas de Valaſco, of the order of St. Francis, who was ſent to the king of Portugal: and confiding too much in one of theſe, by name Sancho, who, after obtaining his liberty, and inſtead of carrying thoſe letters which he was intruſted with from the king of Portugal, &c. to the duke of Medina Sidonia, he went to Madrid, and delivered them to Olivarez, which put a ſtop to the grand deſign, and the province has remained to the crown of Spain to this day.

In one thouſand five hundred and thirty, Barbaroſſa having at leaſt ſixty veſſels of war, great and ſmall, had reſolved to ſurpriſe Cadiz, and to enrich himſelf with the booty, which he concluded would be great, as it was at the time the fair was kept there: whilſt he was preparing for this ſudden ſurpriſe, he commanded Alicotto to go, and conduct biſcuit, artillery, and other neceſſaries, to the army at Algiers: during the preparations in Africa, Andrew Doria went to ſea with a ſtrong force, to ſweep off thoſe pirates, and to take ſatisfaction for the great loſs the emperour had ſuſtained ſome ſmall time before. Having therefore intelligence that Barbaroſſa's force was divided, he ſurpriſed thoſe under Alicotto, took, burnt, and deſtroyed all the veſſels, made himſelf maſter of the port and town of Cercelli, and redeemed one thouſand ſlaves: and though Doria loſt four hundred ſoldiers, killed, with George Palavicino, enſign, and ſixty more taken by a ſally from the caſtle, through their own raſhneſs: yet the loſs the pirate Alicotto ſuſtained of gallies and galliots, was thought to be the ſecurity and ſafety of Cales (5).

The queen of England having intelligence of the vaſt preparations Spain was carrying on to invade her dominions, equipped a fleet of thirty ſail, under Sir Francis Drake, who ſtood for Cadiz,

(5) I cannot recollect the Spaniſh author from whom I had this fragment; becauſe this, among many other extracts, was burnt.

where were collected vaſt ſtores, to be forwarded for Liſbon, for the intended invaſion: and as ſoon as he entered the bay, he was fired upon by ſome ſhips of war, which he obliged to ſhelter themſelves under the fire of their fort, of Pontal and Matagorda, where in that road ſixty ſhips were, with divers ſmaller veſſels; and as many of them as could paſs the flats, fled to Port Real.

More gallies came to attack Sir Francis, but they were forced to retire alſo: they burnt in the harbour a ſhip of Raguſa of one thouſand tons, mounted with forty pieces of braſs ordnance, and richly laden: then they burnt a ſhip of twelve hundred tons, and ſeveral others, heavy laden, to the amount of ten thouſand tons: all performed under the fire of their ſhips of war and fortifications; and what ſhips of theirs, that were diſabled by the fire from the Engliſh fleet, they converted them into fire ſhips, to deſtroy Sir Francis's veſſels, but to no effect.

This reſolute attempt was performed in one day, and two nights, to the great amazement of the king of Spain, and the marquis of Santa Cruz, his admiral, whoſe famous ſhip was alſo burnt.

After Sir Francis left the port of Cadiz, he was followed by ten gallies, but to no effect; for the Engliſh fleet, who viſited the coaſts, took at ſeveral times a hundred ſail, with proviſion and ſtores for the intended invaſion: they alſo deſtroyed all the fiſhing veſſels and nets, particularly thoſe for the catching the tunny fiſh; they alſo landed and took three forts: the fleet then anchored off Liſbon, and near the Caſcais, where the marquis of Santa Cruz was with his gallies. Sir Francis ſent to acquaint him, "That "he was ready to exchange a few ſhot with him." The marquis returned anſwer: "That he was not ready for him, neither had "he ſuch commiſſion from the king his maſter."

It was in the month of April, one thouſand five hundred and eighty-five, when Sir Francis entered the port of Cadiz, who would have certainly taken the city, if the people from the country had not

not been aſſembled, who ran to the relief of that place: in ſhort, it is allowed by all, that the knight performed in this expedition, rather more than could have been expected (6).

King Philip the ſecond of Spain, ſays Mr. Anderſon (7), again making great preparations againſt England, queen Elizabeth wiſely determined by all means to prevent his attempts on her coaſts; and as the beſt means for that purpoſe would be to attack and annoy him in his own ports, for that end ſhe ſent out one hundred and twenty-ſix ſhips of war, ſeventeen whereof were her own ſhips, the remainder were, as uſual, hired ones; they carried ſeven thouſand three hundred and ſixty land forces, and were joined by a Dutch ſquadron of twenty-four ſhips, all being under the command of the earl of Eſſex, and the lord admiral Howard. This was in one thouſand five hundred and ninety-five.

Before this expedition was well determined, the Spaniards, ſays Molyneux (8), with four gallies, arrived in Mount's bay, and landing, burnt three places (9) in Cornwall; and therefore, to prevent any more viſits of this ſort, the queen undertook to invade the Spaniſh dominions, in order to which, a ſtout fleet and numerous army were provided, under the moſt experienced officers of thoſe times. The deſign of this expedition was to deſtroy the Spaniſh fleet in the port of Cadiz, and to make themſelves maſters of that rich city: the force employed was in all not leſs than one hundred and fifty ſail: on board this fleet, there were embarked upwards of ſeven thouſand men (1); and there was beſides a Dutch ſquadron of twenty-four ſhips.

In conſequence of the affront which king Philip received by the depredations made by Sir Francis Drake, as well in Spain as in other parts of his dominions, he collected all his ſea forces together, in the beginning of this year one thouſand five hundred

(6) Conjunct. Exped. by Tho. More Molyneux, p. 36. (7) On Commerce, Vol. 1. p. 445. (8) Conjunct. Exped. p. 38. (9) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts. (1) Stowe's Annals, p. 771. Holingſhed, Speed.

and ninety-ſix, appointing the rendezvous to be at Seville, but this ſudden preparation was diſturbed by divers accidents: the firſt was the ſtrange ſwelling and overflowing of the river of Guadalquivir, to the great ſpoil of the neighbouring country, for paſſing over her banks, there were many perſons drowned, with much cattle, and many buildings overthrown, but the greateſt loſs was at Seville, in which port there being many ſhips of the fleet, they were long detained from making their preparations: and in the mean time, whilſt they proceeded ſlowly in this affair, (according to the cuſtom of that nation, who perſuaded themſelves to do great matters with fame and repoſe only) the Britiſh fleet appeared unexpectedly on the coaſt.

They ſailed in the beginning of June from Plymouth, and were divided into four ſquadrons: the lord high admiral Charles Howard commanded the firſt, the earl of Eſſex the ſecond, the lord Thomas Howard the third, and Sir Walter Raleigh the fourth.

They ſailed with a fair wind, and the good wiſhes of all their countrymen (9): in former expeditions, great inconveniences had happened by the enemy's having early intelligence; in this they were ſo happy as to arrive before Cales in the middle of the ſaid month, before they were either looked for, or even ſo much as thought of. They found the town pretty well fortified, and defended by a ſtrong caſtle.

In the port were fifty-nine Spaniſh ſhips, many laden with treaſure, and nineteen or twenty gallies: all theſe rode under the town of Cales, except the gallies, which were in the mouth of the bay, to cover the ſhips, and to attend the Engliſh in their landing. It was reſolved the ſame day, in a council of war, to have landed all the forces at St. Sebaſtian's; but when they came to attempt it, that was found impracticable: after this, it was determined to attack the ſhips in the haven, before any attempt

(9) Stowe, Holingſhed, Speed, Hackluyt, Sir William Monſon's Nav. Tracts.

was

was made upon the town (1): in the execution, ſome errors were committed by the Engliſh, through too great heat and emulation of their commanders, but others more groſs and fatal by the Spaniards, who, when they found themſelves compelled to fly, did it without precaution: for inſtead of running their ſhips on ſhore, under the town, where they might have been covered by their artillery; and after reſiſtance, their men could have retreated into the city; they ran up the bay as far as poſſible, by which means part fell into the hands of the Engliſh, and the reſt were burnt (2).

In the mean time, the earl of Eſſex landed his men quietly, the enemy deſerting a ſtrong fort, from which they might have done him much miſchief; three regiments alſo were ſent to make themſelves maſters of the bridge, which unites the iſland to the main. This they performed with very ſmall loſs, but afterwards quitted again, which gave the gallies an opportunity of eſcaping, another overſight, for which no account can, ſays my author, be given. The lord admiral hearing the earl was landed, landed alſo with the remainder of the forces, doubting much whether his lordſhip could have kept the place: whilſt the two generals were employed in reducing the city, Sir Walter Raleigh was ſent to ſeize the ſhips in the harbour of Port Real; to prevent which, the duke of Medina Sidonia cauſed them to be ſet on fire and burnt, whereby twenty millions were buried in the ſea (3). The city and its forts they poſſeſſed a fortnight; and then it was agreed to ſail to Faro, in the kingdom of Algarva, &c.

But to be more particular in this glorious expedition: the fleet kept at a diſtance from the coaſts of France and Spain, for fear of alarming the Spaniards, as the commanders intended to have ſurpriſed Cadiz. It was therefore with great joy that they learned

(1) Molyneux's Conjunct. Exped. (2) End of firſt Vol. of Hackluyt's Voyages. Stowe's Annals. p. 771. Sir William Monſon's Tracts, p. 184. Sir Walter Raleigh, 1700. eighth Vol. Triumphs of Naſſau. Purchas's Pilgrim. (3) Camden, Stowe, Speed, Holingſhed, Hackluyt, Monſon.

from

from the maſter of an Iriſh veſſel returning from that port, that every thing there was in the greateſt ſecurity: that the garriſon was weak, and the port full of ſhips of war, galleons, gallies, and merchantmen freighted for the Indies (6). This news filling them with hopes, they arrived the twentieth of June on the weſt ſide of the iſle of Cadiz; when the lord admiral came to an anchor, oppoſite St. Sebaſtian's, the earl of Eſſex obſerving the gallies to row towards the intended landing place, bore down, and obliged them to retire to the Pontals.

The earl, with the reſt of the fleet, ſtood up, and anchored by the lord admiral, excepting the third diviſion under lord Thomas Howard, who anchored between them and the ſhore.

The generals then called a council, when it was agreed to land and attack the town on the weſt ſide, next to the anchoring ground, where the fleet then rode: for which purpoſe the earl of Eſſex, Sir Francis Vere, and Sir Conyers Clifford, appointed as many as the boats could well carry, which attended round the admiral's ſhip, ready to land.

Sir Walter Raleigh (who was but then arrived in the Due Repulſe) proteſted againſt their landing, as the wind blew, the ſea ran high, and was growing to a ſtorm; therefore he thought the attempt too dangerous, and the performance impoſſible: it was therefore reſolved, that the ſoldiers ſhould be returned to their ſhips; and that the Spaniſh ſhips ſhould, agreeable to Sir Walter's advice, be firſt attacked.

It was paſt noon before this late reſolution was taken, and between two and three hours after, before the troops could be rowed to their ſeveral ſhips; and indeed, the wind blowing, ſeveral boats paſt their veſſels, which obliged lord Thomas to weigh, and with other ſhips to follow and pick them up; which circumſtance divided the fleet greatly, and many were obliged to anchor a great

(6) Rapin's Hiſt. England, reign Eliz. Vol. VII. p. 544.

way

way to leeward: ſo that the firſt day there was nothing executed, by reaſon of theſe accidents; only in the evening from the bulwark Saint Philip, from the ſhips of war which were at anchor, and from the gallies which advanced a little towards them; theſe beſtowed ſome ſhot upon the Due Repulſe, who anſwered them in a manner to make them know, the Engliſh could entertain them, if they choſe to advance.

That night, the gallies coaſting by the ſhore, betwixt St. Mary's port and Rotta, approached, to obſerve what order was kept in the Engliſh fleet, but were ſoon obliged to retire.

On Monday early in the morning, there was a council held on board the lord admiral's ſhip, where it was reſolved to attack the Spaniſh fleet; and accordingly performed after this manner.

Lord Thomas Howard and Sir Walter Raleigh (for ſo the general had appointed it) ſailed up the middle of the channel with the king of Spain's largeſt ſhips, that kept retiring; ſcorning to give one ſingle ſhot away upon the gallies which cannonaded the Engliſh fleet, as they paſſed them.

The lord marſhal, Sir Francis Vere, in the Rainbow, ſtood up to the gallies, that had their ſterns cloſe under the walls of Cadiz, and engaged them for a long while before any other ſhip went to her aſſiſtance, and was therefore roughly handled both from the gallies and the ramparts of the town.

The earl of Eſſex ſeeing her over-matched, covered her with his large ſhip, which drew off a vaſt many ſhot from the little Rainbow: this encounter with the gallies was advantageous to the enemy; as in effect theſe two ſhips (for there were ſome others, that fired at a vaſt diſtance) performed the whole ſervice: beſides, there were two bulwarks that played againſt them; and notwithſtanding the gallies were at ſafe anchor, they were at length obliged to fly into the bay, except two, which, Sir John Wingfield coming up in the Vanguard, kept ſo cloſe under their walls by his ſhot, that they durſt not look out.

During

During the engagement with the gallies, town, and bulwarks, the wind ceaſed, and a calm enſued; the Engliſh fleet went therefore but ſlowly in the chaſe; the Spaniſh ſhips which had attained Port Real, moored with their broad-ſides towards the approach of the Engliſh fleet, that they might fight to the greateſt advantage: the two fleets being in this ſituation, the one moored, the other becalmed: the maſters of the Engliſh ſhips gave their general opinion, that they could not carry the fleet near enough without danger of running them on ground; which alſo helped to retard lord Thomas and Sir Walter, whoſe warm, ſanguine wiſhes were to anchor as near the enemy as they poſſibly could; but were at length obliged to anchor without reach of muſketry, and there remain till flood made; and therefore continual engagement was carried on with cannon, from ſix in the evening till eleven. The ſhips that followed, and were neareſt, were commanded by Sir Francis Vere, Sir George Carew, Sir Robert Dudley, Sir Robert Southwell, Sir George Croſs, the earl of Eſſex being on board him, and by Sir George Gifford.

The earl of Eſſex and the lord admiral got up an hour before the flood, having been all that morning ſoundly battered by the forts of Cadiz: but as the Ark drew too much water for the channel where thoſe ſhips rode, which took up the whole breadth of the river, the lord admiral therefore put himſelf into lord Thomas Howard's ſhip.

When the flood began to make, lord Thomas and Sir Walter determined to lay the armadoes on board with the queen's ſhips, (for the hulks filled with muſketeers, which were promiſed, neglected going) but as ſoon as the Spaniſh admiral perceived the top-ſails to hoiſt on board the Engliſh fleet, then they cut, and ran on ſhore, ſaving as many of themſelves as they could.

The Engliſh attacked them, ſays Mr. Rapin, with great reſolution, but met with ſo warm a reception, that the fight laſted from break of day till noon: at laſt the Spaniards, deſpairing to make

a longer defence, reſolved to ſink their ſhips, and eſcape to land; that is to ſay, the Engliſh were warmly received, becauſe the fight was at a diſtance; but as ſoon as the flood gave our ſhips an opportunity to cloſe, they then made a ſhameful and precipitate flight.

The St. Philip, which was the Spaniſh admiral's ſhip, very large, and of great force, took fire before ſhe could be boarded, by an inch of match left for that purpoſe in the gun-room; but the St. Matthew and St. Andrew were taken, many of the others were ran on ſhore, and many burnt by negroes, who afterwards ſaved themſelves by ſwimming.

The India fleet of merchantmen were forty-four, that had got up the river four Engliſh miles; for their redemption the king of Spain's officers in Cadiz offered ſix hundred thouſand pounds ſterling. The earl of Eſſex was often preſſed to have them firſt taken, and then ſold, but he believed that ſuch as offered to pay the compoſition, had meant bonâ fide to pay the money, from which he could not be diſſuaded, until he ſaw the ſhips in flames, which the duke of Medina Sidonia had commanded to be done.

The number of the Spaniſh fleet was fifty-ſeven ſhips, fourteen of the king's men of war, and three great fly-boats, which had brought the treaſure from Porto Rico; the reſt were merchants, all fine ſhips, fully mounted with cannon, and more richly laden than ever any fleet before bound to the Weſt Indies.

During the engagement, the gallies and the fort of Pontal kept a continual cannonade upon the Engliſh ſhips; and in ſhort it was a noble action, as great as perhaps was ever performed before by ſhips, or ſince; for the ſame ſpirit, for the glory of Old England, was then, as has been ſince, and perhaps ever may, till time ſhall be no more.

They burnt, ſays Mr. Anderſon, and deſtroyed much ſhipping, and more riches, and demoliſhed all the forts: all which together was eſtimated at twenty millions of ducats of real loſs and da-

mage to Spain, much rich booty was brought home, together with two galleons and a hundred braſs cannon, and two hundred other pieces of ordnance were either taken or ſunk in the ſea, and an immenſe quantity of naval ſtores, ammunition, proviſions, &c. were deſtroyed; and for ranſom of their lives, they agreed to give hoſtages for the payment of five hundred and twenty thouſand ducats: this, in ſhort, ſays my author (7), was a very glorious exploit, and did not a little raiſe the credit of the queen, and of her naval and land forces, as well as of her miniſters and commanders: that in this attack the Engliſh employed ſhips of Lubeck and Dantzick: for, in order to board the Spaniſh galleons, the admiral (being unwilling to hazard the queen's own ſhips) ſent ſix of Lubeck and Dantzick with Engliſh ſoldiers and mariners for that purpoſe.

The Engliſh having obtained this great victory by God's eſpecial favour, and who has ſo remarkably preſided over the Britiſh army in every expedition undertaken by them, in this laſt bloody war, as by examination into the ſituation of the enemy, and every attack which the Britons carried, as the main object for which they were ſent, requires the attention of the ſoldiery, that they themſelves were inſufficient to the taſk unleſs protected and hovered over by the hand of Providence; and theſe ſucceſſes muſt ever be the conſequence, where true diſcipline, good order, true religion, and pure virtue, moſt prevails.

The earl of Eſſex reſolved to follow the blow with all expedition, and ordered as many gentlemen and ſoldiers into the boat, as might well be landed at once, which being accompliſhed, his lordſhip and the lord marſhal went to reconnoitre the landing place; and finding it good, he debarked between two and three thouſand men on the ſhore; and the boats returned for my lord admiral and his ſeconds.

(7) Anderſon on Commerce, Vol. 1. p. 445.

The

The earl drew out theſe troops in order of battle, and commanded the marſhal with his regiment to march directly to the other ſide of the iſland, half a mile diſtance from the landing; his lordſhip following to the ſouth ſide, when he divided his force, ſending one half with Sir Conyers Clifford, Sir Charles Blunt, and Sir Thomas Gerrard, to break down the bridge that led to the continent, marching himſelf with the other half towards the town. The like orders he gave to the ſeconds above-mentioned, to be equally divided, and to march there two ways.

When he had reached the town within about half a mile, a cornet and a detachment of horſe attempted to ſkirmiſh, and fired ſome ſhot; but were ſoon obliged to retreat and put to flight.

When the Engliſh troops arrived within a few paces of the town, the Spaniards ſallied, both horſe and foot; Rapin ſays three or four hundred, with their colours diſplayed, but kept under the cover of the walls of the town. The earl of Eſſex ordered thirty pike men and thirty muſketeers to advance, but to retire precipitately as ſoon as the enemy offered to charge; which was properly obeyed, and led the Spaniards into an ambuſcade, from whence they received a ſevere check, which ſtopt them in their career, and obliged them to ſo precipitate a flight, that they had ſcarce time to recover the port and ſhut it, the Engliſh preſſing cloſe upon their heels.

The horſe which ſallied, were the knights of the ſhires; who could not get into Cadiz, being ſo cloſely followed, whereupon they forſook their horſes, and leaped over the walls at the weſt corner, by which the Engliſh alſo entered. Mr. Rapin only ſays, that the Engliſh had almoſt entered with them, but that the conſternation was ſo great in the town, that before any meaſures could be taken for its defence, the Engliſh had time to force the gate, which was done by Sir Thomas Vere (8), and threw themſelves

(8) Camden, p. 593.

into the town: and that though they found ſome reſiſtance in the ſtreets, yet in half an hour they made themſelves maſters of the market place: then the garriſon and the inhabitants retired into the caſtle and town houſe, but on the ſame, or the following day, were obliged to ſurrender: however, the Engliſh troops ſtopped not in the purſuit, till they came to the foot of the firſt rampart, where the earl divided his men equally, ſix hundred he kept on the ſouth ſide, and ſent the other ſix hundred with the marſhal to the north ſide. The earl, with ſome others, after ſome difficulty got up, where he ſaw a parapet of ſtone, almoſt inacceſſible; but the bulwark and curtain were not finiſhed; the Engliſh therefore beat the enemy off the parapet, but were greatly expoſed to the fire of another bulwark of ſtone, which flanked them, and within a pike's length. Nevertheleſs the Spaniards were ſo roughly handled from the Engliſh muſketry, that they did the earl's party very little damage: the earl found at laſt an entrance, where he ordered his men to leap down, being a pike length in height, under one Evans, who ſtood neareſt him, being lieutenant to the earl of Suſſex; and as ſoon as that gentleman, with five other ſoldiers, had entered, he ordered captain Pooley to enter with his red enſign: whereupon Sir Arthur Savage, captain of the earl's company, with divers gentlemen, followers and ſervants to his lordſhip, (for in thoſe days ſervants fought, and not ſkulked in holes and corners) took the ſame rout: in the mean time, whilſt forty were entering the town this way, the lord marſhal, Sir Francis Vere, who, beſides his own ſoldiers, had the general's partiſans, forced the port, which his lordſhip perceiving, at ten paces diſtance, returned from the leap, and entered that way, carrying with him all the chief adventurers of the army.

Sir John Wingfield, who had killed a commander with his pike, and was behind, received a ſhot in his thigh, but having ſeized one of the enemy's horſes, advanced to ſecond the attack, without waiting any dreſſing.

From

From the Engliſh firſt entering the town, the enemy fought until they were driven to the market place, where they kept up a fire for half an hour before the Engliſh could diſlodge them: and then they kept a continual fire upon their flanks and from their ſtrong ſtone-houſes, which were like caſtles.

Many of the Engliſh fell with the valiant Sir John Wingfield, who, though unarmed, expoſed himſelf continually to all dangers, and was at length ſhot through the head from the caſtle, which kept an inceſſant fire upon thoſe who had gained the market place.

The Engliſh at length gained the houſes, that had ſo much annoyed them, and ſlew all thoſe they found in them: and as the lord general cleared before it was dark all thoſe parts, but the caſtle: ſo the lord marſhal cleared all the other ſide towards the water; and obliged thoſe that were in the fort bulwark of St. Philip to ſue for mercy: which done, the generals entered the town houſe, where the chief citizens went to kiſs their feet.

The next morning both the caſtle and forts yielded to their mercy without any other condition: the poor and baſer ſort were diſmiſſed, and all women of quality whatever. The corrigidore delivered his ſword, and preſented himſelf priſoner to the general, and to give for himſelf and ſome others of rank and fortune, twelve thouſand ducats. No man was ſlain in cool blood, but the Spaniards had two thouſand killed in the engagement.

Beſides the chief commanders on this expedition, who had given many proofs of their valour and experience, there were many gallant gentlemen, who remarkably diſtinguiſhed themſelves by deeds of arms, and whom the general knighted for their military ſkill and achievements.

Sir Samuel Bagnol muſt be particularly mentioned, who had received eight wounds with the pike and ſword, whom the lord general met in the market place all bloody; he therefore knighted him on the ſpot, to reward his juſt merits, and to encourage

others

others for the attainment of the ſame honour: this ceremony was performed before the caſtle was taken, or the town won.

Thoſe gallant chiefs, already mentioned, were as follows:

The Engliſh fleet was divided into four ſquadrons (9), whereof the firſt was commanded by the lord admiral Howard, the ſecond by the earl of Eſſex, the third by lord Thomas Howard, and the fourth by Sir Walter Raleigh: the officers of the army (of which the lord admiral and the earl of Eſſex were joint generals) were Sir Francis Vere lord marſhal, Sir John Wingfield camp-maſter general, Sir Conyers Clifford ſerjeant major, Sir George Carew maſter of the ordnance: the colonels were, Robert earl of Suſſex, Sir Chriſtopher Blunt, Sir Thomas Gerrard, Sir Richard Wingfield, Sir Edward Wingfield captain of the volunteers, and Anthony Aſhley who was ſecretary at war (1).

The army was enriched by the wealth of the town, but the worthieſt men got leaſt; for while they were fighting, the baſer ſort were employed in ſpoil and pillage: but that which recompenſed thoſe great minds, were a capture of powder, found in the market place, brought for the uſe of the Spaniſh muſketry: the Engliſh having expended all theirs, were miſerably galled from all quarters that commanded the market place; this happy ſupply enabled them to complete their conqueſt.

In Cadiz were four thouſand foot and ſix hundred horſe of the chief cavaliers of Andaluſia. Notwithſtanding the ſite, ſtrength, &c. of Cadiz, and its forts, the loſs which the Engliſh ſuſtained was not great; for in the fleet, there was not any man killed of note, or at the ſtorming of the town, except Sir John Wingfield. It is true that ſeveral private men were ſlain and wounded, and many gentlemen hurt, and ſome killed, but conſidering the nature of the attempt, it is ſurpriſingly trifling.

(9) Rapin's Hiſt. England, tranſl. by Tindal, Vol. VII. p. 544, note (X).
(1) Stowe, p. 772. Camden, p. 591.

As

As ſoon as the Engliſh fleet had entered Cadiz road, and that the Spaniards had diſcovered a Dutch ſquadron, they immediately, at Seville, St. Lucar, and other places, arreſted ſuch ſhips as dealt with them in mercantile trade, and confiſcated their goods, impriſoned the mariners and owners, and, as it was then reported and believed, uſed their unjuſt captives cruelly.

The Engliſh being maſters of the town of Cadiz, the general took great care of the inhabitants; and particularly of all religious, both men and women, who were ſent to Port St. Mary's, without any ranſom, or other moleſtation; with free paſſage for the biſhop of Cuſco; and he was informed that the Engliſh did not land in an hoſtile manner againſt prieſts, nuns, unarmed men, men of peace, or children; neither was it an intended voyage for gold, ſilver, or any other riches: but their viſit was to retaliate the affront intended to England, and to take ſatisfaction for their diſhonourable practices and the many injuries received; and to cope with martial men of valour, to ſupport the honour and dignity of England; and at the ſame time to let them underſtand, that whenever the Spaniards attempted any baſe and diſhonourable practice againſt their ſovereign queen and miſtreſs, they were both ready and capable of revenging her affront.

The day before the Engliſh departed from Cadiz, which was on the fifth of July, the city was burnt, but the ladies, nuns, and other women and children, were ſafely conducted to St. Mary's, with all their apparel and jewels, every man being forbidden to ſearch them upon pain of death.

By thé capitulation, ſays Rapin, they were to have their lives on payment of ſeventy thouſand ducats, for which four principal citizens were given in hoſtage.

The Spaniards were to pay five hundred and twenty thouſand ducats, (or, according to Stowe, ſix hundred and twenty thouſand) though others ſay one hundred and twenty thouſand, but the adjacent country could not raiſe the money, ſo they were obliged to give

give forty hoſtages. The town being thus in the power of the Engliſh, the earl of Eſſex, after remaining in it fourteen days, turned out all the inhabitants, and then ordered to be carried on board a great quantity of ſilver, ammunition, and other valuable things, beſides what has been already mentioned of the one hundred braſs guns taken: Stowe writes that twelve hundred pieces of ordnance were either taken or ſunk in the ſea (2). The Spaniſh authors are divided as to the plunder; ſome ſay it amounted to four, others to eight millions of ducats, and that ſix millions more at leaſt periſhed on board the fleet (3).

The earl of Eſſex propoſed in a council of war to keep Cadiz, and even offered to ſtay there, provided he might have four hundred men and three months proviſions; but his advice was not followed: ſo the fleet ſailed, after burning the town and ſome adjacent villages. While the fleet was ſailing for England, a north wind ariſing, the earl of Eſſex propoſed to ſteer for the Azores, and wait for the Indian carracks, but his propoſal was not admitted.

As the Engliſh, like the old Romans, are fond of a poſthumous remembrance, the following is a liſt of ſuch great men, who, for their gallant behaviour, received the order of knighthood conferred upon them by their general, as a teſtimony of their proweſs and magnanimity in this glorious affair:

Sir Samuel Bagnol.	Sir Henry Neville.
Sir Arthur Savage.	Sir Edwin Rich.
The earl of Eſſex.	Sir Richard Leven.
Lord Burke.	Sir Peter Egomort.
Count Lodowicke.	Sir Anthony Aſhley.
Sir William Howard.	Sir Henry Leonard.
Sir George Devereux.	Sir Richard Leviſon.

(2) Stowe, p. 775. (3) Herrera, Vander Hammen. Camden's Annals. Mayerne, Turquet.

Sir Horatio Vere.
Sir Arthur Throgmorton.
Sir Miles Corbet.
Sir Edward Conway.
Sir Oliver Lambert.
Sir Anthony Cook.
Sir John Townſhend.
Sir Robert Remington.
Sir John Bucke.
Sir John Morgan.
Sir John Aldridge.
Sir Chriſtopher Heydon.
Sir Francis Popham.
Sir Philip Woodhouſe.
Sir Alexander Clifford.
Sir Maurice Berkeley.
Sir Charles Blunt.
Sir George Gifford.
Sir Robert Croſſe.
Sir James Eſcudamore.
Sir Urias Leigh.
Sir John Leigh, alias Lee.
Sir Richard Weſton.
Sir Richard Wainman.
Sir James Wotton.
Sir Richard Ruddal.
Sir Robert Manſel.
Sir William Monſon.
Sir John Bowes.
Sir Humphry Druel.
Sir Amias Preſton.
Sir Thomas Palmer.
Sir John Stafford.
Sir Robert Lovel.
Sir John Gilbert.
Sir John Aſbindon.
Sir Matthew Browne.
Sir John Acton.
Sir Thomas Gates.
Sir Gillie Merruke.
Sir Thomas Smith.
Sir William Hervey.
Sir John Gray.
Don Chriſtopher, prince of Portugal.
Sir John Vanderfoord, admiral of the Hollanders.
Sir Robert Dudley.

Thus this triumphant Engliſh army left Cadiz, having received from the duke of Medina Sidonia nine and thirty priſoners, who had been ſlaves in the hands of the Spaniards: which done, they paſſed along the coaſt of Portugal, took, ſpoiled, and burnt Ferrol, and marched up the country; after which exploit, the fleet ſhaped their courſe for England.

The queen received theſe brave men with great marks of eſteem, and expreſſed her acknowledgment of the ſervice they had done her.

Such was the ever memorable expedition to Cadiz; and the glorious achievements of the Engliſh will apologize for the prolixity, as I imagine the curious mind of man is for knowing the moſt of paſt events as is poſſible. Perhaps this very ſucceſs againſt the Spaniſh ſhipping, might have given the hint to lord Chatham, that the like might be achieved; particularly, as ſo many heroes happily flouriſhed in the time of his adminiſtration, to execute thoſe views which he had planned in his cloſet.

Philip, king of Spain, was in this ſame year ſo intent on making repriſals for ſo great an inſult, diſgrace, and loſs, that he aſſembled his whole marine at Liſbon, and all the foreign ſhips in his ports; as alſo a body of land forces, and many Iriſh fugitives, intending an invaſion either of England or Ireland: yet a violent tempeſt ariſing, deſtroyed the greateſt part of thoſe ſhips, whereby an end was put to that intended invaſion for the preſent year (4).

It had ſailed from Liſbon to take up the land forces at Fariola, and then ſteered for England, and was diſperſed in the midſt of the paſſage. Thus queen Elizabeth had the pleaſure to hear it was unable to hurt her, before ſhe knew of its ſailing (5).

It was in one thouſand five hundred and ninety-ſeven, that the Spaniards armed for retaliation, and therefore I ſhall be particular: theſe were the regiment of Alexander de Monti, conſiſting of fifteen companies, which embarked at Naples, and was near being loſt in a ſtorm, upon the coaſt of Romania: however they arrived at Genoa, and were reinforced with the troops of Gambalaita; all which ſailed to Cadiz, where part of the fleet was al-

(4) Anderſon on Commerce, Vol. I. p. 445. (5) Rapin, tranſlat. by Tindal, Vol. VII. p. 547.

ready:

ready: from whence they ſailed with the galleons and ſix thouſand Italians on board to the Groyne, and there joined by the Adelanlado, and the reſt of the fleet; but were overtaken on the eighth of September by a violent ſtorm, that diſperſed the whole fleet, and foundered ſeveral, the people on board periſhing. A galleon having Alexander de Monti and ſome of his companies on board, after loſing her main maſt, was driven to the coaſt of Africa, and having loſt their pilot, and moſt of the ſailors, was run aground, but afterwards was got off, and put into Mazagon, where they furniſhed themſelves with all they wanted; and as he paſſed the Straits of Gibraltar, he met an Engliſh ſhip, who fought her long, but was obliged to ſtrike to ſuperiour force, and numbers of ſoldiers. Alexander de Monti then joined don Pedro de Toledo, with ſome other veſſels: they ſcoured the coaſt of Barbary, and alſo that of Spain, till winter came, which obliged them to put into port St. Mary's.

The reſt of the Spaniſh fleet, after the ſtorm abated, reached Ferrol: and ſo ended this fine Spaniſh expedition, to their grief, and the ſatisfaction of the minds of England.

Upon the demiſe of king James the firſt, on the twenty-ſeventh of March, one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-five, his only ſon Charles ſucceeded to the throne; who, upon a war breaking out with Spain, ſent Sir Edward Cecil, the earls of Eſſex and Denbigh (6), with a fleet of eighty Engliſh and Dutch ſhips, and ten good regiments; the fleet did not ſail till October, and then upon no ſettled ſcheme, but were left to the direction of men, who in reality were no fit judges of ſuch matters; and beſides, were divided in opinion among themſelves (7).

Sir Edward ſailed from Plymouth on the ſeventh of October, but when the fleet had ſailed ſome leagues at ſea, their ſhips were ſeparated by a ſtorm, ſo that they were many days before they

(6) Molyneux Conjunct. Exped. (7) Sir William Monſon's Naval Tracts.

arrived at their appointed rendezvous off cape St. Vincent. On the nineteenth of October, it was reſolved in a council to attack Cadiz, which they accordingly did on the twenty-ſecond of the ſame month. Lord Eſſex ſtood into the bay, where he found ſeventeen ſhips riding under the town, and eight or ten gallies, which were gallantly attacked, but for want of proper orders and due aſſiſtance, the Spaniſh ſhips were ſuffered to retire to Port Real, where the lord marſhal Cecil did not think fit to follow them: then ſome thouſand ſoldiers were landed, and the fort Pontal was taken: after which they proceeded to make ſome attempts upon the town: but the ſoldiers unfortunately becoming maſters of too much wine, got exceſſively drunk, and became ſo careleſs, that if the enemy had known, or had been vigilant enough to have embraced the advantage, few of them had returned home.

The fright into which this had put the officers, engaged them to re-embark their forces; and then it was agreed to cruize off cape St. Vincent for the flota; there the men grew ſickly, and by the ſtrangeſt management that ever was heard of (that is, diſtributing the ſick under the pretence of being taken better care of, two in each ſhip) the whole fleet was infected, and to ſuch a degree, as ſcarce left them hands enough to bring it home: this, however, they performed in December, having done little hurt to the enemy, and acquired leſs honour to themſelves: all which was foreſeen, nay, and foretold too, before the fleet left England.

On their return, a charge was exhibited againſt the general, by the earl of Eſſex and nine other officers of diſtinction; Sir Edward Cecil, who was created lord Wimbleton for this great and heroical exploit, juſtified himſelf in a long anſwer to their charge: both pieces are yet remaining, and ſerve only to demonſtrate, that want of experience and unanimity proved the ruin of this expedition. Both the officer's charge, and lord Wimbleton's anſwer, are printed in Lediard's Naval Hiſtory. The reader, upon comparing theſe with Sir William Monſon's reflections on this lord's conduct,

conduct, will diſcern, that he is hardly and unjuſtly treated: Sir William arraigns him for calling councils, when he ſhould have been acting: the officers accuſe him for not calling councils, but acting of his own head. The truth ſeems to be, he had no notion of a ſea command, and his officers no inclination to obey him (8).

Mr. Rapin writes, that the fleet under Edward Cecil, third ſon of the earl of Exeter, ſailed in the beginning of October, with the earl of Eſſex as vice admiral, and conſiſted of eighty ſail with ten regiments on board: that the intent of the expedition was to wait in ſome convenient place for the Spaniſh plate-fleet, which was expected from the Indies in November: that as the admiral had ſufficient time, he might have attacked a great number of ſhips in the bay of Cadiz, but the difficulty of the enterprize, or ſome other reaſon cauſed him to neglect that advantage: he was contented with landing Sir John Burroughs with ſome troops, who meeting no oppoſition, only plundered ſome villages, and abuſed themſelves with wine, to their own, more than to their enemies prejudice: whereupon they were forced to be re-embarked with all ſpeed: after that, the contagion ſpreading among the troops, the fleet returned to England in November, without the king's reaping any benefit from this armament, which had been very chargeable to him. This ill ſucceſs did great injury to the king as well as to Buckingham, who was looked upon as the director and contriver of the court projects (9).

Admiral Blake's fleet cruized about in the Mediterranean, and at length anchored in Cadiz bay, where he received the greateſt civilities from the Spaniards, till the blow was ſtruck at Jamaica. Oliver Cromwell, to the beſt of his power, carefully concealed his deſign to make war (1): but when this was known, the Spaniards

(8) Campbell's Naval Hiſtory. (9) Rapin, tranſ. Tindal, Vol. VIII. p. 343, 344, from Ruſhworth, p. 196. Annals, Howes, Coke, p. 207, 208. Act. Pub. 18. p. 181, &c. Coke. (1) Molyneux's Conjunct. Exped.

declared

declared immediately againſt him, and ſeized the effects of all the Engliſh merchants in their dominions to an immenſe value (2). The war now being broke out between Cromwell and the Spaniards, Blake continued to cruize before the haven of Cadiz, and in the Straits, till April one thouſand ſix hundred and fifty-ſeven; when having information of a plate-fleet, at Santa Cruz, in the iſland of Teneriffe, he immediately ſailed there; where, without queſtion, he performed the boldeſt undertaking of its kind that had ever been done.

In the month of June one thouſand ſix hundred and eighty-ſix, a French fleet, conſiſting of twenty ſhips of war, entered the bay of Cadiz, to prevent all egreſs and regreſs of that harbour, becauſe the Spaniards had ſeized five hundred thouſand crowns of French effects at Mexico: but that difference being accommodated to the ſatisfaction of France, the fleet weighed and left Cadiz without committing any act of hoſtility.

An Engliſh fleet alſo appeared before Cadiz in one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-nine, and endeavoured to make a deſcent with ſome troops, but were repulſed with loſs.

I come now to one thouſand ſeven hundred and two, in the reign of queen Anne: Rapin ſays (3), that while things were tranſacting on the continent, the confederate fleet was not idle: that it conſiſted of fifty ſhips of the line, thirty Engliſh, and twenty Dutch; the Engliſh, commanded by Sir George Rooke, having under him vice admiral Hopſon, and the rear admirals Fairborne and Graydon; the Dutch under the command of lieutenant admiral Allemond, admiral Callemburgh, the vice admirals Vandergoes and Pieterſon, and the rear admiral Waſſanaer; with about fourteen thouſand land forces, nine thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-three Engliſh, three thouſand nine hundred and twenty-

(2) Clarendon, Whitlock, Heath's Chron. Kennet, Echard, Ludlow, Rapin.
(3) Vol. xv. Tindal's Tranſ. p. 420. Hiſt. of Europe, Vol. vii. Burnet.

four

four Dutch: the Engliſh commanded by Sir Henry Bellaſis, lieutenant general, Sir Charles O'Hara and lord Portmore, majors general; and the colonels Seymour, Hamilton, and Matthews, brigadiers: and the Dutch, by major general Sparre and brigadier baron Palandt.: the duke of Ormond had the command of the whole.

Queen Anne, ſays Molyneux, declared war on the fourth of May, one thouſand ſeven hundred and two, againſt France and Spain (4): and the conjunct expedition to Cadiz was concerted by king William; but carried in execution by the queen, at her acceſſion to the throne: and Sir George Rooke hoiſted the union flag on board the Royal Sovereign on the thirtieth of the ſaid month.

Sir George Rooke, ſays Rapin from biſhop Burnet, ſpoke ſo coldly of the deſign before he ſailed, that thoſe who converſed with him, were apt to infer, that he intended to do the enemy as little harm as poſſible. That this was a great force equipped, and that the public, ſays Molyneux, had reaſon to form great expectations to themſelves, as to its ſucceſs, all the world muſt allow: but on the other hand, our expectations ought never to prejudice us ſo far as not to be ſatisfied with a juſt account of their diſappointment. Biſhop Burnet, ſays this gentleman, writes as above, that Sir George Rooke ſpoke coldly of this expedition before he went out, and this he tells us, to prove that Sir George Rooke intended to do the enemy no hurt: but, ſays Molyneux, the miſchief lies here, Sir George ſuſpected they ſhould do no great good, becauſe this expedition was of a doubtful nature; for on the one hand, they were enjoined to ſpeak to the Spaniards as friends, and at the ſame time were ordered to act againſt them as foes (5).

On the nineteenth of June, the fleet weighed from Spithead, and came to an anchor at St. Helen's, in order to ſail with the

(4) Conjunct. Exped. p. 107. (5) Campbell's Naval Hiſt. Vol. III. p. 327, in note.

next

next fair wind: three days after, the rear admirals Fairborne and Graydon were detached from thence with ſixteen men of war and two fire ſhips, Engliſh, and a ſquadron of the Dutch, in all thirty ſail, upon a ſecret expedition; and, on the twenty-third, the prince of Heſſe d'Armſtadt ſailed in the Adventure frigate for Liſbon. Advice had been ſent over from Holland of a fleet, that had ſailed from France under monſieur de Caſſe, and was ordered to call in at the Groyne. Sir John Munden was recommended by Sir George Rooke to be ſent againſt this fleet; and though he came up with them with a ſuperiour force, yet he did not hinder the French from getting into the Groyne, nor fight them there.

Upon his return therefore to St. Helen's, where he arrived on the twenty-fifth of June, a court martial, of which Sir Cloudeſly Shovel was preſident, was appointed to try him: he was acquitted, ſome excuſing themſelves for their lenity to him, by alledging, that if they had condemned him, the puniſhment was death; whereas they thought his errors flowed from a want of ſenſe, ſo that it would have been hard to condemn him for a defeat of that which nature had not given him: but this acquittal raiſed ſuch a public clamour, that the queen ordered him to be broke.

Sir George Rooke, to divert the deſign (6), ſays my author, which he himſelf had undertaken, wrote from St. Helen's, that the Dutch fleet was victualled only to the middle of September; ſo that no great deſign could be executed, when ſo large a part of the fleet was ſo ill provided.

When the Dutch admiral heard of this, he ſent to their ambaſſadour to complain to the queen of this miſinformation, for he was victualled to the middle of December: on the firſt of July, the confederate fleet ſet ſail from St. Helen's, ſteering their courſe for Cadiz; but they were for ſome time ſtopped by contrary winds, accidents, and pretences, many of which were thought to be

(6) Rapin's Hiſt. tranſ. Tindal, Vol. xv. p. 421. Anne.

ſtrained

ſtrained and invented: however, on the tenth of Auguſt the fleet reached the rock of Liſbon, when the next day they held a council of war (7); and on the twelfth of Auguſt, they anchored before the city of Cadiz, at two miles diſtance.

Sir Thomas Smith, quarter maſter general, having viewed and ſounded the ſhore on the back ſide of the iſle of Leon, in which Cadiz ſtands, reported that there were very convenient bays to make a deſcent; the duke of Ormond vehemently inſiſted, in a council of war, upon landing in that iſle, in order to make a ſudden and vigorous attack upon the town, where the conſternation was ſo great, that in all probability the enterprize would have ſucceeded; but ſeveral of the council, eſpecially the ſea officers, oppoſing the duke's motion, it was reſolved, that the army ſhould firſt take the fort of St. Catharine and port St. Mary, to facilitate thereby a nearer approach to Cadiz.

Sir George Rooke is alſo charged with not having laid a diſpoſition before he arrived in Cadiz bay, and therefore ſome days were loſt on pretence of ſeeking for intelligence. It is certain, continues my author (8), that our court had falſe accounts of the ſtate of the place, with regard both to the garriſon and fortifications; the garriſon being much ſtronger, and the fortifications in a much better condition, than had been repreſented. The French men of war, and the gallies, that were in the bay, retired within the Pontals: in the firſt ſurpriſe it had been eaſy to have followed them, and to have taken or burned them, which Sir Stafford Fairborne offered to execute, but Sir George Rooke, and the reſt of his creatures, did not approve of it.

Fairborne propoſed the ordering a ſquadron of ſhips, before the fleet came in ſight of Cadiz (9), to puſh through the entrance of the harbour, without coming to an anchor at all, which he

(7) Molyneux's Conjunct. Expedition. (8) Rapin, idem, p. 422. (9) Idem, note (B).

offered to undertake: had this advice been followed, they might, in the firſt ſurpriſe of the Spaniards, have deſtroyed at leaſt their ſhipping, if not taken the place; but it being not thought adviſeable to make ſuch an attempt, the Spaniards had not only the leiſure, while the fleet lay in view, of ſinking veſſels in the very entrance of the harbour, whereby the paſſage was rendered impracticable, but alſo to put themſelves in a much better condition of defending the city itſelf, than they would otherwiſe have been (1).

On the thirteenth of Auguſt, the duke of Ormond ſent a trumpet with a letter to the duke of Brancaccio, the governour, whom the duke had known in the Spaniſh ſervice, in the laſt confederate war: but in anſwer to the letter, inviting him to ſubmit to the houſe of Auſtria, Brancaccio declared, "He would acquit "himſelf honourably of the truſt repoſed in him by the king;" as may be read at large in the collections of Lamberti (2).

Some days were loſt before a council of war was called; in the mean time, the duke of Ormond ſent ſome engineers and pilots to ſound the ſouth ſide of Cadiz, near the iſland of St. Pedro; but while this was doing, the officers, by taking of ſome boats, came to know, that the inhabitants of Cadiz had ſent over the beſt of their goods and other effects to port St. Mary's; ſo that there was good plunder to be had eaſily; whereas the landing on the iſle of Cadiz was like to prove dangerous, and, as ſome made them believe, impracticable. General O'Hara made a long ſpeech againſt landing, ſhewing how deſperate an attempt it would prove, and how different they found the ſtate of the place from the repreſentations made of it in England.

The greater number being with him, made all that the duke of Ormond could ſay to the contrary, to be of no effect: Sir George ſeemed to be of the ſame mind with the duke, but all his

(1) Burchet, p. 622. (2) Tom. II. p. 251.

dependents

dependents were of another opinion; ſo that this was thought a piece of craft in him: in concluſion, the council of war came to a reſolution not to make a deſcent on the iſland of Cadiz; but before they broke up, thoſe whom the duke had ſent to ſound the landing-places on the ſouth ſide, came and told him, that, as they might land ſafely, ſo the ſhips might ride ſecurely on that ſide: yet they had no regard to this, but adhered to their reſolution, nor were there any orders given for bombarding the town. The ſea was for the moſt part very high, while they were there; but they had no orders for it; and indeed it appeared very plainly, that they intended to do nothing but plunder port St. Mary's; a deſign, which was directly contrary to the advice of Mr. Methuen, the Engliſh envoy in Portugal, who, in a letter to the duke of Ormond from Liſbon of the firſt of Auguſt, told him, "That "the point of the greateſt importance was to inſinuate to the Spa- "niards, and ſhew by his proceedings, that he came not as an "enemy to Spain, but only to free them from France, and give "them aſſiſtance to eſtabliſh themſelves under the government of "the houſe of Auſtria."

However, on the fifteenth of Auguſt, the duke of Ormond landed his forces in the bay of Bulls, above a mile on the left of St. Catharine's fort; the cannon of which fixed on his men all the while, but with little execution: the firſt that landed were twelve hundred grenadiers, led by brigadier Pallandt and the earl of Donnegal; they were, ſays Molyneux, to wade to the ſhore, and were very wet when they reached it: in the mean time, captain Jumber in the Lenox, and ſome Engliſh and Dutch light frigates, kept up a fire upon the horſe that appeared near the coaſt, who were ſoon after attacked and repulſed by the Engliſh foot. The duke of Ormond, as ſoon as his troops were landed, ſent and ſummoned fort St. Catharine; but the governour replied, "He had cannon mounted, with powder and ball ſuffi- "cient to receive him."

On the ſixteenth, the army marched to a camp marked out for them near La Rotta, a town within a league of the place where they landed, from which moſt of the inhabitants were fled; but ſtrict orders being given againſt plundering, many of them returned: the duke of Ormond having left a garriſon of three hundred men at La Rotta, marched on the twentieth of Auguſt towards port St. Mary's. Some Spaniſh horſe, about ſix hundred in number, fired upon the duke's advanced guards, and killed lieutenant colonel Gore's horſe amongſt the dragoons, but retired upon the approach of the Engliſh grenadiers, of whom a detachment, under colonel Pierce of the guards, was ſent to take fort St. Catharine, which they did, and made one hundred and twenty Spaniards priſoners of war.

The duke entered port St. Mary's, attended by moſt of the general officers; and notwithſtanding the ſtrict orders the duke gave againſt plundering, there was a very great failure in the execution of them: on this deſcent in the bay of Bulls, the Engliſh made themſelves maſters of Rotta, fort St. Catharine, and this of port St. Mary, which they found deſerted, but full of riches, which were immediately plundered; ſome of the general officers ſetting a very ill example to all the reſt, eſpecially O'Hara and Bellaſis. The duke of Ormond tried to hinder this, but did not exert his authority; for if he had made ſome examples at firſt, he might have prevented much miſchief that was done: but the whole army running ſo violently on the ſpoil, he either was not able, or, through a gentleneſs of temper, not willing to proceed to extremities. He had publiſhed a manifeſto, according to his inſtructions, by which the Spaniards were invited to ſubmit to the emperour; and he offered his protection to all that came in to him: but the plundering of St. Mary's was thought an ill commentary on the text.

It being found too difficult to approach Cadiz while the Spaniards were in poſſeſſion of Matagorda fort, over againſt the Pontal,

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it was ordered to be attacked, and a battery of four pieces of cannon erected againſt it, but upon the firing, the guns ſunk into the ſands, and, after a fruitleſs attempt, the deſign was given over, and the troops ordered to embark, as nothing more could be done; and proviſions now growing ſcarce, and the ſea officers repreſented the danger of ſtaying any longer in thoſe ſeas, the duke of Ormond, though not without great reluctance, conſented to the re-embarking of the land forces. Some of the ſhips crews were ſo employed in bringing off and beſtowing the plunder, that they took not the neceſſary care to furniſh themſelves with freſh water.

The Spaniards endeavoured to diſturb the retreat of the Engliſh in their embarking, but with very little ſucceſs; a detachment of Engliſh and Dutch troops having quickly repulſed them, with the loſs of a few of their horſe, who were the moſt forward in the attack, which diſcouraged the reſt ſo, that few or none of our people were left in getting aboard their ſhips. Thus, ſays Molyneux, ended the attempt upon Cadiz, which ſeems by Mr. Methuen's letter, originally concerted on a ſuppoſition, that the Spaniards had a natural affection for the houſe of Auſtria, and would join with us in their favour againſt France.

Sir George Rooke, without proſecuting his other inſtructions, in caſe the deſign on Cadiz failed, gave orders only for a ſquadron to ſail to the Weſt Indies, with ſome land forces, and though he had a fleet of victuallers, that had proviſions to the middle of December, he ordered them to ſail home; by which means the men of war were ſo ſcantily furniſhed, that they were ſoon forced to be put on ſhort allowance: nor did he ſend advice-boats, either to the ports of Algarve or Liſbon, to ſee what orders or advices might be lying there for him, but ſailed in a direct courſe for England.

And ſo, ſays biſhop Burnet (3), ended the expedition againſt Cadiz, which was ill projected, and worſe executed. The duke of Ormond told him, he had not half the ammunition that was neceſſary for the taking Cadiz, if the Spaniards had defended themſelves well: though he believed they would not have made any great reſiſtance, if he had landed on his firſt arrival, and not given them time to recover from the diſorder into which the firſt ſurpriſe had put them.

I ſhall conclude this chapter from the memoirs of the marquis de Langallerie. On the twenty-third of Auguſt, one thouſand ſeven hundred and two, ſays this gentleman, the fleets of England and Holland arrived in ſight of Cadiz (4). It was thought at firſt that they were come to invade the kingdom with an army of twenty thouſand men, and that the arch-duke would be at their head to command them: the whole country was alarmed, the inhabitants of Seville, which is a place ten leagues from Cadiz, retired further into the country. The monks and prieſts received orders from cardinal Portocarrero to mount the pulpit, and tell the people in their ſermons, "That an army of hereticks, worſe "than the Moors, that had heretofore over-ran Spain, were ready "to enter into their country, and deſtroy all with fire and ſword; "that if they did not immediately take up arms to oppoſe their "invaſion, they would certainly effect their deſigns: their churches "would be profaned, their ſacred veſſels polluted, their altars "overturned, their convent deſtroyed, the Roman catholic reli-"gion for ever baniſhed from monarchy, the nation enſlaved, "and all the country expoſed to miſery and deſolation: that the "Spaniards having always been the bulwark of the Roman catho-"lic religion, it was time for them to ſhew their wonted zeal, by "taking up arms, men, women, and children, from the leaſt to

(3) Burnet, Vol. II. p. 333. (4) P. 192.

"the

" the greateſt, againſt hereticks infinitely more to be feared than " the Moors or Barbarians, from whom God in his goodneſs had " formerly delivered them." Theſe and ſuch like ſentiments they were ordered to inſpire into the people; which was nothing but an artifice uſed by the cardinal and the court of France, to render the Engliſh and Dutch odious to the Spaniſh nation. But to come to the troops who were preparing to land: the coaſt was immediately ſounded, and the anchorage examined; in the mean time an officer, who had ſet up a white flag in a ſhallop, advanced therein towards the town, with a letter from the duke of Ormond to the governour of the place, don Scipio Brancaccio, which contained in ſubſtance, " That the governour having ſerved in Flan- " ders againſt the French, he hoped that by the aſſiſtance of the " Engliſh and Dutch fleets, he would declare himſelf in favour of " the houſe of Auſtria, which he had heretofore ſo well ſerved." Don Brancaccio anſwered the duke of Ormond, with an haughtineſs natural to Spaniards, " That if he had known him ſerve the " deceaſed king with honour, he hoped to let the duke ſee the " ſame courage and fidelity for Philip the fifth, whom he acknow- " ledged as ſole and lawful heir to the monarchy of Spain." The duke of Ormond, after this anſwer, which diſcovered the little reaſon he had to hope to draw the governour over to his party, who ſo cloſely adhered to the intereſt of the new king, reſolved to try what he could do by force of arms, which he began by ſending on ſhore a great number of printed manifeſtos, which informed the Spaniards of the motives of his expedition, and were to this effect:

" That her majeſty, the queen of Great Britain, having been " pleaſed to give him command of the forces which ſhe had joined " to thoſe of the ſtates general, to ſupport the rights of the houſe " of Auſtria, in purſuance of the treaties of alliance made with " the emperour, he thought it neceſſary before his entering upon " action with the ſaid forces to declare, that he was not come

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" there to poſſeſs himſelf of any place belonging to the monarchy " of Spain, in the name of her majeſty or the ſtates general of the " United Provinces, nor to bring upon them troubles and cala- " mities which are generally inſeparable from war, by way of " conqueſt; but rather to defend the good and faithful ſubjects " of the ſaid monarchy, and deliver them from the inſupportable " yoke under which they had been oppreſſed, and ſold to France " by ill deſigning perſons: that her majeſty and the ſtates general " having no other deſign than that of maintaining and defending " the rights of the houſe of Auſtria, he declared, that all the good " Spaniards who did not oppoſe his troops, ſhould be protected " in their perſons, eſtates, privileges, religion, &c. but that if, on " the contrary, they do not concur with the good intentions of " her majeſty and the ſtates general, he calls God to witneſs, that " the hoſtilities committed in ſuch caſe by the troops under his " command, ought to be imputed to the Spaniards themſelves, " who having ſo fair an opportunity of ſhewing their fidelity, " and following the motives of their duty and their intereſt, re- " fuſe to embrace it."

On the twenty-ſixth of Auguſt, one thouſand ſeven hundred and two, the deſcent was made in the bay of Bulls, between Rotta and fort St. Catharine, near port St. Mary's; twelve hundred grenadiers, commanded by the baron Pallandt and lord Donnegal, landed firſt: a body of Spaniſh cavalry ſhewed themſelves upon a riſing ground, but durſt not adventure to advance, becauſe of the cannon of ſome light frigates, which would have incommoded them. An officer of diſtinction, willing to give ſome marks of his bravery, or rather temerity, being at the head of four Spaniſh ſquadrons, detached himſelf with thirty others, and came up to attack fifty Engliſh, who, making a diſcharge upon them, the brave Spaniſh officer that commanded them fell to the ground, which made the reſt of his party retreat. Cadiz, which the duke of Ormond had ſome thoughts of beſieging, had then a garriſon

of two thouſand three hundred men, amongſt which were ſix hundred regular troops. The fortifications of the place conſiſted of a horn-work and a crown-work. The troops which were diſembarked, began with the attack of the towns Rotta and St. Mary, which they became maſters of with little trouble, as alſo the fort of St. Catharine; but they met with greater oppoſition at the fort of Matagorda, which is built upon one of the two Pontals on the ſide of St. Mary. The duke of Ormond commanded four thouſand Engliſh and Dutch to attack that fort; they raiſed three batteries, but the ground being marſhy, they were not able to place there more than two field pieces and two mortars: the Spaniards taking this advantage, made ſuch a terrible fire from the cannon of the place, and the gallies which were in the port, as well as from their muſkets, that the Engliſh and Dutch were obliged to retire with conſiderable loſs. The generals ſeeing it impoſſible to carry on the ſiege of Cadiz, called a council of war, and reſolved therein to re-embark their troops, although they had reaſon to fear, that the Spaniards, encouraged by their ill ſucceſs in this enterprize, would fall upon them in their retreat. They re-embarked, however, on the twenty-ſixth of September, without any oppoſition.

This famous expedition having miſcarried, the court of France pleaſed themſelves, ſaying, that the generals, who commanded troops in that deſcent, had been guilty of a crime, contrary to the rules of good policy, who ſhould, in a country where they came as friends, and where the catholic religion was profeſſed, have forbid the ſoldiers, upon pain of death, not only to pillage the inhabitants, but alſo the churches: that what paſſed at St. Mary's and other places where the Engliſh troops came, had ſoured the Spaniards, and induced them to make ſuch a reſiſtance, that neither the court of Madrid, nor the court of France did expect from them; but it appeared afterwards to be far from any fault of the generals, who did, on the contrary, endeavour all

they could to hinder theſe ravages, but it was very difficult to ſtop the licentiouſneſs of the ſoldiers in a country where the hopes of booty had encouraged them, and where they expected to find all the riches of the Indies.

I ſhall finiſh this affair of Cadiz with two (5) letters upon this ſubject, which deſerve reading; one from the duke of Ormond to the marquis de Villadarias, the other is the anſwer that was made to it.

CHAP. IV.

OF CADIZ.

IN the foregoing ſheets, I have given a full, hiſtorical account of the famous expedition to Cadiz, extracted from thoſe authors which I have quoted: but as I have found two original journals by Sir Richard Granville, I can do no leſs than relate them apart, ſo that the reader may be ſatisfied in every particular relative to that expedition in one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-five.

The authority, ſays this preface, with which theſe journals came recommended, will, it is preſumed, be ſatisfactory to the public: and, to refreſh the reader's memory in ſome meaſure with the true motives for undertaking theſe expeditions, it is thought proper to recite what is ſaid concerning them by a late maritime hiſtorian, viz. The ſcandalous treatment which king James had received from the Spaniards, ſays he, relating to the match and the palatinate, had, notwithſtanding all his inclinations to peace, forced him, a little before his death, to reſolve on a war with Spain: in proſecution whereof, king Charles, upon his

(5) Theſe two letters above-mentioned were, by the unlucky accident of the diſturbances in America, on account of the ſtamp act, deſtroyed, with many other manuſcripts of the author, in the devaſtation and ravages committed by the populace of New York on his houſe.

coming

coming to the crown, fitted out a fleet for an expedition againſt that kingdom, the command thereof, inſtead of being beſtowed on Sir Robert Manſel, an old, experienced ſeaman, and vice admiral of England, was given to Sir Edward Cecil, a ſoldier trained in the Low Countries' war, who, for the honour of the enterprize, was created viſcount Wimbledon, and, agreeable to the choice of the general, was the ſucceſs of the expedition: for in the month of December, one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-five, the fleet returned ingloriouſly to England (1).

March 1, 1719.

" I ſend you the two manuſcripts I promiſed you, of my uncle " Sir Richard Granville, which, if you find may be acceptable to " Mr. Burchett, are at his ſervice: I am ſorry I did not know of " the publication of his book, nor of his deſign, otherwiſe I ſhould " have preſented them more ſeaſonably: however, they may ſerve " to ſatisfy his curioſity by comparing them with other accounts. " He may depend upon their fidelity, being the journals of an " officer of great diſtinction in thoſe days, who was preſent in " both theſe famous expeditions. I return you thanks for your " book, and am ever,

" moſt affectionately, yours,

" Lanſdowne."

Though theſe invaluable pieces came too late to be inſerted in the place they were intended, yet it is not to be doubted that every true lover of his country will be glad to find them made uſe of in this manner for completing the life of general Monk, whoſe unparalleled ſervices ought to be had in everlaſting remembrance.

Both the writers of his grace's life (2) give us an account of his ſerving in theſe expeditions, and the former of them thus delivers

(1) See Burchett's Naval Hiſtory, p. 370. (2) Dr. Gamble's life of general Monk, printed in 1661, p. 4—5. Alſo Dr. Skime's Life of general Monk, printed in the year 1723, publiſhed by Mr. Webſter, M. A. p. 13.

himſelf: what was the iſſue of that voyage into Spain, we have neither reaſon nor ſatisfaction to relate: afterwards, adds he, upon the war with France, he was in thoſe expeditions to the iſle of Rhée and Rochelle, where he carried colours under that valiant and old commander Sir John Burroughs, who alſo, as young as he was, would often relate with grief the ill conduct of that affair, by which the Engliſh reaped nothing but reproach and diſhonour, and yet wanted neither courage nor gallantry. This I hope is ſufficient to ſhew how proper a ſupplement theſe journals are to the life of general Monk; beſides, they ſupply a very large chaſm in all our Engliſh hiſtorians during that period of time, not any of them having told us much more than that theſe expeditions were made, and that they miſcarried. Before I conclude, I muſt beg leave to diſſent from Mr. ſecretary Burchett in the ſevere character he has given of Sir Edward Cecil (where he ſays, "That agreeable to the choice of the general was the ſucceſs of the "Cadiz expedition") becauſe I make not the leaſt queſtion when that gentleman has carefully peruſed viſcount Wimbledon's defence hereunto ſubjoined, he will find very good reaſon to alter his opinion.

The charge delivered by the earl of Eſſex and nine other colonels at the council table againſt viſcount Wimbledon, general of the laſt Cales voyage, with his anſwer, containing a full relation of the defeat of that voyage, is as follows:

Firſt, We humbly preſent to your lordſhip's conſideration, that my lord marſhal never acquainted the council of war with any part of thoſe inſtructions which he ſhewed at the council table, though ſome of them were ſuch as the meaneſt ſoldiers ought to have been acquainted with; nor did we underſtand, that we were ſuch a council of war by which he ſhould govern his actions, otherwiſe than to come when his lordſhip pleaſed to call for us, and then to give him our advice on ſuch things as he would pleaſe to propoſe to us, and no more; and therefore we think ourſelves no

further

further anſwerable in that kind, than for our advices upon his propoſitions: for only in that kind he made uſe of our counſels, though every one of us do proteſt, that, in duty to his majeſty's ſervices, we did to our abilities and knowledge give him the beſt counſels upon all occaſions.

The third of October, one thouſand ſix hundred and twenty-five, being Monday, my lord Eſſex, with part of the fleet, put forth from the Sound of Plymouth.

The fourth of October, being Tueſday, my lord marſhal, with the reſt of the fleet, put forth alſo.

The ſixth, being Thurſday, my lord marſhal, with that part with him, by contrary winds, was put into the Sound again.

On Friday the ſeventh, colonels Burgh and Harwood having found, when they were out at ſea, that the captains of their ſhips had no inſtructions for the government of the fleet, nor any orders for rendezvous if they ſhould be ſeparated, went to the lord marſhal, and, by their ſpeaking to him, obtained inſtructions bearing date the third of October, wherein was named the place of rendezvous. Lord Eſſex, being then at ſea, received not his, until the ninth of October, then under ſail in the fleet, when with them he received orders from my lord marſhal to diſtribute them to all his ſquadron, which were twenty-nine ſhips: but my lord muſt firſt write out ſo many copies, which being four ſheets of paper and more, would require ſome time: this his lordſhip's late diſtributing them, and but in ſingle copies to the admirals of the ſquadrons (for the rear admiral received them but at the ſame time lord Eſſex did) was the cauſe that many neither had them, nor could have them, before we came to the ſouth cape, and after the ſtorm: ſo that in the ſtorm many might have been ſevered from the fleet, and never came to them again for want of inſtructions, as had almoſt happened with captain Roſkinner, of the Matthew of Ipſwich, and one other with him, that, betwixt them, had three hundred landmen on board them; as alſo with

captain White, and another with him, who, betwixt them, had the like number of landmen: all which four ſhips came not into the bay of Cadiz till we were ready to come away. In the ſaid articles there was no enemy named in particular, for default whereof, three of our fleet, namely, captain Oſburn, captain Bainthon, and captain Squil, meeting with three Spaniſh ſhips not far from the Rock, and about the ſeventeenth day of October hailing each other, and calling amain for the king's ſhips, did not fight them, becauſe they had no inſtructions that named their enemy.

On the eleventh of October, at a council, it was moved by Sir Michael Gore to have our enemy named; the lord marſhal ſaid it was the common enemy, and perſiſted that was ſufficient: but preſſed by Sir John Burgh and Mr. Glanville how neceſſary it was to name the king of Spain, he did then yield to it, and in the next inſtructions he named him, and theſe were as before but ſingly diſtributed to the admirals, and they to write them out as before, and to diſtribute them to their ſquadrons, by which means many ſhips knew not their enemies until they came to Cadiz.

On the nineteenth of October the fleet was off the ſouthern cape, and on the twentieth there was a council called, where it did appear, that the lord marſhal underſtood, that we were only to adviſe him in what he ſhould pleaſe to propoſe, and not more; we were then in a proper ſituation to attempt ſomething upon the coaſt of Spain, and hoped that the lord marſhal reſolved on ſome particular place; then his lordſhip named St. Lucar's: but anſwered himſelf, ſaying, it was a barren haven, and that no great ſhips could go in, condemning the ſeamen, but named them not; that at Plymouth we adviſed him ſtrongly, for that place made no difficulty of the entrance, but being now come hither, we found the entrance barren: it was then propoſed to go into the bay of Cadiz, and there to attempt St. Mary's port, and divers were of that opinion; there alſo Sir Henry Bruce propoſed, and urged to

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go for Gibraltar, but his lordſhip would not give him ſo much credit as to allow his propoſition a full debate, but ſlighted it, as appears by his manner of putting the queſtion, Whether to Cadiz bay, or Gibraltar? adding, that this laſt place was Sir Henry Bruce's propoſition, wherein he thought Sir Henry would ſtand alone. This his ſlighting colonel Bruce, a gentleman of great experience and good reputation, did not only diſcourage him, who, beſides this, adviſed to have gone into the Straits, there to make further attempts, but alſo hindered divers propoſitions of others, and eſpecially of one of the council, who had the plot of a place in Spain, which elſe had been propoſed: then it was concluded to go to the bay of Cadiz, for lord Eſſex's ſquadron to go in firſt, and to anchor as near St. Mary's port as he could: on which his lordſhip then moved, and ſo did lord Cromwell, that if they found any ſhipping of the king of Spain's in the bay, which is ſeldom without, to know if they ſhould attempt them, and deſired a full and clear diſtinction in that point. The lord marſhal, without referring it to the council, of himſelf anſwered, that when we ſhould be upon the place, then he would adviſe thereon, and reſolve when our eyes might be our directors, and ſo gave lord Eſſex plain orders to anchor, and to leave breadth betwixt St. Mary's port and him, for the reſt of the fleet; this reſolution was now ſeconded by an expreſs letter from the lord marſhal to lord Eſſex when he was entering the mouth of the bay, and had the ſhips in ſight.

The twenty-ſecond of October, being Saturday, in the afternoon, lord Eſſex ſailed into the bay, where he found ſeventeen good ſhips riding under the town, and ten or twelve gallies, which came from St. Mary's port; when they diſcovered us to be Engliſh, they made what haſte they could to get under the port Pontal, and ſo up the creek to port Royal. Lord Eſſex went ſomething beyond St. Mary's port, and exchanged ſome ſhot both with the gallies and galleons, and brailed his fore ſail, and hovered

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ſome time to ſee if the lord marſhal would ſend him any order, but receiving none, fell down near the place aſſigned him, and came to anchor. If the lord marſhal had, upon lord Eſſex and lord Cromwell's motion, given orders for attempting the ſhipping before they came in, if they found any, or if at his own coming into the road, which was within a quarter of an hour after lord Eſſex, when he firſt diſcovered the ſhipping there, and when his eyes might have been his directors, for he was ſo near as he could ſee them cut their cables, had then put himſelf into his barge or long-boat, and given orders to have attacked them, or but ſent a ketch, whereof he had ever ſome attending him, with orders to lord Eſſex to attempt them, thoſe ſeventeen ſhips had been the king's; but his lordſhip came preſently to anchor, and ſo did the reſt of the fleet. Soon after came of themſelves, lord Eſſex, the admiral of Holland, and ſome other chiefs, on board the admiral, to preſent their ſervices, and receive orders; after whoſe coming, and being ſome time on board him, the flag of council was hung out, but it was ſo late as the flag could not be far diſcerned: then he was preſſed by lord Eſſex, colonel Burgh, and Sir John Proud, preſently to attack the ſhipping, giving him ſome reaſons if he did not, he might endanger loſing them; as alſo if he intended any thing againſt Cadiz, he ſhould do well to give them no time, but preſently to land his army, which he might have done betwixt the town and the fort: his lordſhip, whether of his own judgment, or ſwayed by ſome particular man, ordered only that twenty colliers, with five of the Dutch ſquadron, ſhould that night batter the fort; for this he ſent Sir Thomas Love and Sir Michael Gore to give orders, which how they executed we leave them to anſwer, only ſaying, that Sir Michael Gore was but the ſecond in that commiſſion, and Sir Thomas Love, being captain of his own ſhip, did, or might, at his coming on board, have given his lordſhip an account; how it happened, we know not, that only five of the Dutch ſquadron battered

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the fort that night: yet this evening lord Eſſex had twice orders to batter the fort with his ſquadron, which were twice countermanded. The next morning, Sunday the twenty-third of October, lord Eſſex, early in the morning, had orders to go up with his ſquadron, and ſhoot upon the fort, which was likewiſe done by many of the other ſquadrons, though they effected little. The morning the lord marſhal came on board lord Eſſex, where, amongſt others that came of themſelves, (for there was no council called) came Sir John Burgh, to whom the lord marſhal ſaid he had a reſolution to land ſome men, and that he ſhould have the command of eight hundred or a thouſand that ſhould land firſt, and deſired him to prepare, that his ſhip ſhould be as near lord Eſſex as he could.

When colonel Burgh came on board him again, the lord marſhal told him, he was to command thoſe men that ſhould land, and try if they could take the fort by ſcalado, becauſe we had already fired many ſhot upon it to no purpoſe; colonel Burgh went to land with thoſe men which his lordſhip ſent him, but before he went to land, required of his lordſhip particular direction both for diſpoſing his men in landing, and for governing himſelf after he was landed, but could draw little from him, and ſo referred all to his directions.

Colonel Burgh required to have with him ſuch things as were fit for ſuch an enterprize, as ladders and granadoes, which his lordſhip promiſed preſently to ſend him: the ladders came to him, but ſo late and unſeaſonably, as they could not conveniently be diſtributed; but the granadoes came not at all, though there was a great quantity provided in the Low Countries, and conductors with them, which put the king to great charge, and were in the fleet, but not then to be found. Our men were landed near the fort without impeachment from the place where they landed, though from the fort we received ſome ſmall hurt: and as we ſtill advanced into the Downs from ſome ſcattered ſhot that

covered themſelves in the ſand hills. When our men were put in order, colonel Burgh going to view the fort, found it of that ſtrength, that it was not likely to be eaſily gained by force, yet conceived by the countenance of thoſe in it, that if they were ſummoned, they would haply hearken to it: accordingly he ſent a drum to tell them, if they would give it up, the ſoldiers ſhould have ſafe and honourable conditions, which they hearkened to, and, after an interchange of hoſtages, Sir William St. Leger came on land, and with him the governour agreed ſo as that evening the fort was delivered up. This day the lord marſhal coming on board lord Eſſex, he was preſſed by the ſaid earl, colonel Harwood, Sir John Prowd, and others that came uncalled on board him, to attack the ſhipping, his general anſwer was, "He would "not hunt two hares at once:" meaning the fort and the ſhipping. To which it was replied, "He had ſhipping enough to "attack them, and batter the fort too:" and though his lordſhip conceived and ſaid he had the ſhipping ſure, yet the longer he deferred it, they would be ſo much the leſs worth the having; but all prevailed not. This day, ſome time after Sir John Burgh was landed, his lordſhip gave leave to all that deſired it, to land without naming the colonels or chief officers to go with them, and then two or three thouſand more landed.

Monday the twenty-fourth, the lord marſhal gave orders for landing the reſt of the army, which was effected, except ten or eleven companies of the rear admiral's ſquadron, which could not conveniently land, they being ſo far off. This order was given without calling a council in general, or advice of any of us in particular: neither thoſe that were landed this day, nor the night before, had any orders to take victuals with them which was neceſſary, the victuals being in the power of purſers of ſhips, over whom the land officers had no command.

The army being landed, and the regiments drawn together, the lord marſhal called a council of war within the fort of Pontal,

at which time, before any thing was propoſed, one of the ſeamen of the council came and ſaid the enemy was drawn down, and was in ſkirmiſh with colonel Burgh, who had drawn ſome troops nearer the town to view the gardens where he thought ſome of the enemy were, and to place a guard upon the ſea ſide towards Gibraltar, in which places ſome ſcattered men of the enemy were, who gave the occaſion of that alarm; the lord marſhal and the reſt of the officers ſuſpecting the worſt, went forth every one to his charge, his lordſhip having his horſes ready, rode up into the Downs to ſee what the alarm was, and ſoon after, by whoſe advice we know not, but we proteſt by none of ours, he gave orders by the ſerjeant majors general, that the whole army ſhould march, and ſo marched to the neck of the land, which is in the way towards the bridge: at this time, victuals for the army were ſome in landing, and ſome landed at the fort, but by reaſon of the lord marſhal's expreſs commands to march away, the men had not time to take them, nor did his lordſhip take care thereof when he was told of it: for there Sir Charles Rich acquainted him, that divers captains of his had no victuals come to Pontal, and others that their boats were gone for them to their ſhips.

To which his lordſhip anſwered, "That, however, he muſt "march, and that victuals ſhould follow him:" alſo the ſerjeant major of colonel Harwood's upon the firſt order, went unto the lord marſhal and told him, that three or four of the companies of his colonel's regiment had no victuals, nor had any from the time they came from on ſhipboard; to whom his lordſhip ſharply anſwered, "That now was not the time to ſpeak of victuals, "when we were to march towards the enemy, and that want of "victuals muſt not make men cowards:" with this anſwer the ſerjeant major was much offended, but replied not, and came back and acquainted his colonel and lieutenant colonel therewith. The army marched on, and being come to the neck of land there, lord Eſſex and Sir John Prowd came to the lord marſhal and ac-

quainted him with the want of victuals in the army, and preſſed him to take orders for it ere he went any further: lord Eſſex declaring alſo, that he approved not his going to break the bridge; whereupon he ſaid he would call a council, and ſo made a halt near Hercules's pillars, and ſent to the colonels to come to the vanguard of the troops: then alſo he was put in mind by lord Delawarre, that he had left no troops as a guard upon the town to ſecure our return on our men's coming on land, or following the troops upon any occaſion: upon which conſideration, before all the colonels were come together, he ſent back colonel Burgh and colonel Bruce with their regiments, and then marched forwards with the reſt of the troops, without ſtaying till the council were aſſembled, and againſt the advice of lord Eſſex or any of us that made this relation; nor did we conceive what reaſon his lordſhip had for it; ſure we are, that he marched the army much without victuals, and loſt time in preparing for us in all places thereabouts, which chiefly made our deſigns ſo fruitleſs; whereas the lord marſhal excuſed his not ſtaying for the advice of the council of war for his going towards the bridge, upon ſome words which my lord of Valentia uſed to him there, which were, that ſeeing many of the enemy ſtanding on a hill not far from him, that his lordſhip would not do well when he came near the enemy to ſtand ſtill, for it would both encourage the enemy, and diſhearten his own men: at which time my lord of Valentia did not know he had called a council that was the cauſe of his ſtay; beſides, he might in effect have done both, for he might have ſent the forlorn hope or more ſmall troops to put the enemy further off, which would eaſily have been done, and have ſtaid with the body of the army until the council had been aſſembled, and debated the buſineſs and given their opinions. This night the army quartered in the fields ſome leagues ſhort of the bridge, and near ſome ſtraggling houſes, in many of which there was wine, but principally there was great ſtore in the houſe of don Lewis

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de Soto, where the lord marſhal quartered himſelf, though at the ſame time the ſoldiers complained for want of victuals. Thoſe who were landed with colonel Burgh chiefly, had not had any ſince Monday morning. The lord marſhal, as the army paſſed by, told the ſoldiers they ſhould have to every regiment one butt of wine, which was given, and which the colonels and chief officers ſparingly gave to their ſoldiers; yet how it came particularly ſo, we know not, whether in the lord marſhal's houſe, or in other ſtraggling houſes near that quarter: certain it is, the ſoldiers got more wine than was delivered them from their officers, and ſo much, as in a few hours moſt of the whole army (except the officers) were drunk, ſome of them more, ſome leſs, yet all diſorderly, inſomuch as we verily believe if the enemy had that night attacked us with only about four or five hundred men, they might have eaſily defeated the whole army: that this drunkenneſs and diſorder was not occaſioned by the wine which the ſoldiers had delivered them by their officers, appears, for that ſome regiments (namely, Sir Charles Rich's and Sir Edward Conway's) had none: their butts, by rolling to the quarter, being ſtaved by the way, yet were their men alſo as the reſt. We think the lord marſhal, who rid before with the foremoſt troops, and came firſt into the quarter, and found ſo much wine in his own houſe, and ſtore of vineyards thereabouts, might imagine there was wine in the other houſes alſo; and if he had ſent ſome of his general officers to have ſearched the houſes in that quarter, and then either to have ſtaved all the wine he found, or elſe ſet ſuch guards upon it as the ſoldiers might not have come at it, as alſo to have ſet ſuch guards about his own houſe, and taken ſuch order, and ſo have taken away all means from the ſoldiers to be drunk, he had done much better than neglecting it; and then after to caſt a blemiſh upon the colonels and chief officers, as if they had not done their duties in keeping their men from drunkenneſs. At this quarter, and at night, lord Eſſex finding no guards placed at the

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avenues, nor any order for it, (though it did not properly concern him, but ſhould have been the lord marſhal's care, or the ſerjeant major general) came and acquainted his lordſhip therewith, who, without ever viſiting the avenues in perſon, gave his lordſhip orders in general to advance ſome ſmall guards before the troops, but left the particulars to his diſcretion. This night alſo we had no word given out till one or two o'clock in the morning: whoſe fault it was, we know not, but we wondered that we ſhould have one at Plymouth, and in our own country, and where we had no enemy nor army, but in the land diſperſed in villages, and none in an army in Spain: at laſt we had one in three words, which was (heaven bleſs us!) this night; the ſoldiers being chiefly diſordered by wine, and in want of victuals, came in troops to the lord marſhal's houſe, and preſſed to come in on all ſides, and thoſe ſmall guards he had there were not ſufficient to keep them out, nor remained there any reſpect to the chief officers. The extremity of this was about one o'clock in the morning, where there were moſt of the lords and colonels with his lordſhip, who all aſſiſted him in reſtraining thoſe inſolences, and were contented to endure inſolent contemptuous language from the ſoldiers, who ſaid, God ſave king Charles! and more to this effect: he allowed us victuals, but as for the lord marſhal and the reſt, they cared not, for victuals they would have, or they would pull them out of the houſe. The whole army was in diſorder, which troubled the lord marſhal and the reſt of us, and for the preſent we knew not how to help it: the ſoldiers were enraged like ſo many beaſts, but we had patience, and kept them out of the houſe as well as we could; the reſt of the night neither the lord marſhal nor any of us took much reſt, we being all much caſt down, and the more ſo, becauſe we knew our ſoldiers had reaſon to complain of want of victuals. The lord marſhal having brought the army to this extremity, then demanded advice what to do with us about them; we adviſed him to call a council, and becauſe ſome of the council

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were gone back, and that there were (beſides general officers) but three colonels there to call the lieutenant colonels to council, but not until the morning, becauſe it was not well in the night to call both the firſt and ſecond chief officers ſo far off from the troops as his houſe was.

So, early in the morning, Tueſday the twenty-fifth of October, the colonels aſſembled, when it was by the lord marſhal repreſented the great diſorder of the army, and advice demanded what to do: it was largely debated whether to go forward or return, and generally that whether the lord marſhal intended to beſiege the town or no; yet it was not material to go to the bridge, as we had not materials ſufficient to break it down; and if we had, and could break it, yet that would be no advantage to us for the beſieging of Cadiz; for that we might, by poſſeſſing the ſtrait of land, be more ſecured from any danger from Terra Firma than by breaking the bridge. More reaſons were declared againſt going to the bridge, as that five could break it, which was not probable, yet was to ſmall purpoſe, unleſs we left two or three thouſand men to guard it after it was broken; which, if we ſhould, we knew not how to victual them there, neither were they ſecure, it being poſſible that the enemy might with gallies land greater troops than they betwixt them and us, and come on the back of them and defeat them, and we being far off, could not know it, or aſſiſt them; beſides, thereby we ſhould much leſſen our army: but ſuppoſing it had been for the advantage of the ſervice to have gone to the bridge, yet our army being then in ſuch diſorder for want of victuals, and not any to be had but from the ſhips, nor any from thence but by going back, it was generally agreed by all to return; yet Sir William St. Leger would not give his voice pro or con. and ſo we did return with loſs, as we think, of about ſixty men, or thereabouts, that were ſtrayed out of the quarter, and drunk, we know not where: this day we came back, and were quartered by the two regiments of colonels Burgh and Bruce,

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which were a guard upon the town of Cadiz. This evening, when the troops were quartered in the field and on horſeback, the council was aſſembled, where what has been ſaid of the laſt night's diſorder was mentioned, and that the enemy drew together and followed us in great troops both horſe and foot: and ſome affirmed thoſe they ſaw could be no leſs than two or three thouſand; and it was affirmed that thoſe that had the guard towards the town had ſeen near about a thouſand men at one time without the town, and that the gallies came continually to the town without impeachment: ſo it was then debated, and moſt men inclined to ſhip next morning, and afterwards to think what to attempt in ſome other place, becauſe Cadiz was then thought by us all to be too ſtrong for us to attack, and ſo that council broke up, deferring a reſolution till next morning.

On Wedneſday the twenty-ſixth of October, the lord marſhal leaving colonel Harwood with his regiment to ſtay with the other two of colonel Burgh and colonel Bruce, marched with the reſt of the army back to the Strait of land thereabouts to recover certain longboats which we had ſeen before when we paſſed that way, and returned that night to our former quarter.

On Thurſday the twenty-ſeventh of October, early in the morning, a council was called, and we all met at the fort Pontal, where the lord marſhal demanded our opinions whether we thought this army ſufficient to beſiege the town of Cadiz, and whether we would adviſe him to it or not; it was conſidered, that our army conſiſted of new men little exerciſed, that many things neceſſary for a ſiege we had not, and that the town was ſupplied with both men and other neceſſaries ſince we came into the bay, having had Saturday night, Sunday, Monday, Tueſday, and Wedneſday, to provide themſelves, and to prepare againſt us: ſo it was generally agreed not to beſiege the town, but to ſhip our army; and it was ordered by the lord marſhal for the oldeſt regiment to ſhip firſt.

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Now in theſe three days that we were on land, the lord marſhal having left orders for it with lord Denbigh before his marching to the fort, there was a council called of the ſeamen to adviſe how to ſet upon the enemy's ſhipping at port Real, to which ſervice Sir Samuel Argol was deſigned, with the vice admiral's ſquadron, but it ſucceeded not, by reaſon of the enemy having ſo much time given them, had ſunk ſhips in the channel that ours could not paſs up to them: for as yet Sir Samuel Argol with that ſquadron was not returned to the reſt of the fleet, of which ſquadron were the ſhips that received lord Eſſex's regiment with the lord of Valentia and colonel Harwood's: theſe three regiments, becauſe their ſhipping had orders to ſhip laſt, and of them according to the order of the reſt of the army to be laſt, preſently lord Eſſex, Sir William St. Leger, and colonel Harwood, went and conſidered of the fitteſt ground for them to ſtand in, whilſt the other were in ſhipping: there colonel Harwood, the reſt approving of it, choſe out ſome hills to place muſketeers on, and behind them towards the fort the reſt of the regiments in order; lord Eſſex's regiment, that was firſt to be ſhipped, next the fort; and colonel Harwood's, that was to make the retreat, next the enemy; the other regiments to be ſhipped in order one after another. When lord Eſſex was to draw away, the enemy that before had not ſhewn themſelves near to us, but ſcattered only to look upon us, began to come down in troops; lord Eſſex ſent to colonel Harwood (who was with the muſketeers next the enemy, from whence he could diſcern more of the enemy's actions than where his lordſhip was) to know whether it was neceſſary he ſhould ſtay with his regiment, as the enemy began to come down; colonel Harwood adviſed his lordſhip to draw away with his pikes, but to ſend him ſome of his muſketeers, which his lordſhip did, and ſo did my lord of Valentia. The enemy came cloſe up within two or three hundred ſhot to the hills, where he had placed his muſketeers too; they had alſo a body of pikes, but they came not

up. Colonel Harwood put all his muſketeers to work, ſent to lord Eſſex for more, and ſo received and amuſed the enemy as well as he could with ſuch kind of men, who being new men, unacquainted with danger and the uſe of their arms, met one another, and coming to fill their bandeliers, blew up the powder twice or thrice; yet he made ſhift to maintain the ground he made choice of for an hour or more, that the other regiments might have time to ſhip. In this time he had two or three meſſengers from the lord marſhal to come off, which, if he had done at firſt, before he had emboldened his men, and put ſome aſſurance into them, and given teſtimony that he went not in fear of them, but becauſe he was to go on ſhipboard, he had been ſure to be beaten: having now ſtayed a ſufficient time for thoſe ends, he began to make his retreat, and then miſſed one diviſion of the pikes of his regiment, which the lord marſhal had ſent for away without his knowledge, which troubled him: firſt he commanded his lieutenant colonel to advance his colours and pikes ten paces towards the enemy, to countenance his muſketeers in coming off, which put the enemy to a ſtand, and which time he took to begin to retire; but when he commanded his men to turn their faces and march off, they began to break and run away, and much ado he had to keep them together; but by the help of his lieutenant colonel and other officers who all ſtood firm, with much difficulty, by degrees he came off in reaſonable order, and with little loſs. The enemy followed him cloſe to the fort, where he having the advantage of an old houſe, and placing muſketeers ſafely in it and about it, and at either end a drain, which, after he was come under the fort with his pikes, the lord marſhal ſent him, and charging them four or five times with muſket bullets, the enemy, by little and little, went clear away, and he ſhipped his men without any trouble: in all this time, neither the lord marſhal nor Sir William St. Leger ever came at colonel Harwood, till he was with his pikes come cloſe under the fort. Lord Eſſex and the lord of Valentia

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and colonel Bruce at ſeveral times came to him to ſee him, yet none of them do aſſume the making of the retreat to themſelves, as the lord marſhal and Sir William St. Leger did. The lord marſhal propoſed this day to keep the fort with one hundred and twenty men, in which he was oppoſed by them, who ſaid, if he left theſe men in the fort, it was needful to leave a third part of the ſhipping there to keep the harbour, which the fort could not do alone: for as ſoon as we were gone with our ſhipping, they would have the fort back again, and it were ſo many men certainly loſt, which every one oppoſed, yet the lord marſhal was unwilling to leave any ſhipping for keeping the harbour.

On Friday morning, the twenty-eighth of October, our men that were in the fort were drawn on ſhipboard, and the whole fleet fell down that night towards the entrance of the ſea.

On the twenty-ninth was called a council of war to conſult what was moſt proper to be done; divers were the opinions, ſome, that we ſhould go into the Straits, and ſee if we could do any damage upon ſome towns or harbours there; others, that we might go to the ſouthern iſlands and try our fortunes there: St. Mary's fort was not thought a feaſible thing, becauſe we had been long in the bay, and it was likely they were too well provided for us; others, that we were to look to what the lord marſhal had expreſsly ſaid in his inſtructions, which as he had declared unto us was chiefly to interrupt the Weſt India fleet, and theſe two places were both out of the way for that deſign: in conſideration therefore of this deſign of his majeſty's for the fleet, it was propoſed by the council of war, and concluded to ſet ſail, and ply to the ſouthward cape, and ſtand our courſe weſtward ſixty leagues from the land in the latitude of thirty-ſeven and thirty-ſeven and a half, and 36° and 36° 30′ to look for the Weſt India fleet, with inſtructions, if forced by weſterly winds, that our rendezvous ſhould be at Buggerow, and if by ſoutherly winds, at the iſle of Bayonne and Galveca, where it was intended to water. At a council of war

held the firſt of November, it was concluded, that we ſhould lie yet twenty days at the aforeſaid Straits to attend the fleet, in which time there came many complaints of the defect of our fleet, as want of drink, a general want of water, great ſickneſſes and infections amongſt the men: when ſeventeen days of the twenty were paſt, the complaints were renewed ſo, as by a council of war it was generally thought beſt to bear for England, which we did: in our coming home, the Mary Conſtance periſhed, with two land companies in her; the captains and ſome others were ſaved by a ſhip that was near them.

Our greateſt wants being drink and water, we happily took a ſhip laden with wines: accordingly it was moved to the lord marſhal, by Sir Michael Gore and others, to diſtribute the wine amongſt the fleet, as it would much eaſe our wants in that kind, and give much comfort to weak and feeble men, and the worſt had been but his majeſty's paying for it if the ſhip had not been proved a good prize: but his lordſhip would give no ear to it, by reaſon on board the Anne Royal, Sir William St. Leger told him, that if he broke bulk and gave any thing out, he could not anſwer it, and ſhould pay for it out of his own purſe at his return.

We the under written, amongſt us, ſome one part, ſome another, are ready to verify this relation:

Robert Eſſex.	Joſeph Burgh.
Charles Rich.	Thomas Cromwell.
Edward Harwood.	Michael Gore.
Henry Valentia.	Joſeph Watts.
Edward Conway.	Joſeph Chudleigh.

Viſcount Wimbledon's anſwer to the aforeſaid charge.

" May it pleaſe your honours,

" For the communicating my inſtructions to the council of war, I had no orders for it, for that they were given me rather to order

der myſelf, and the expedition intended; but if any one can tell wherein I have tranſgreſſed in any of them, I find enough ready to take the advantage of them; where it is alledged, that I gave the orders ſomewhat late, it ſeemeth, that thoſe, who would take that advantage, do not know, or elſe have forgotten: for lord Eſſex coming to my lodging at Plymouth, I ſhewed him the inſtructions lying upon my table; but when he was commanded to depart to Falmouth, he forgot to call for them, yet I did not forget to ſend them after him (before I ſet ſail) by land; and when I firſt met his lordſhip by ſea, I aſked him if he had received my letters and inſtructions, and he told me no; then I gave him new ones: and whereas they ſpeak of ſhips, as the Matthew that Roſkinner commanded, and captain White's ſhip, it muſt be through their own neglect that they came not for inſtructions; and that they were not ready to hoiſt ſail when the admiral did, and the whole fleet: and whereas it is called an error that there was no enemy declared, the inſtructions ſhew where the rendezvous ſhould be, and no man was ſo weak as to think that we went to traffick upon the coaſt of Spain, having no other merchandize than powder; and herein they declared their malice, and not my error, in cavilling at a point ſo void of all diſpute: for the excuſe in not writing the inſtructions, nor the delivering them as ſoon as was convenient, I muſt think that the vice admiral (3) and the rear admiral (4) might do it as well as I could; for I cauſed theirs to be written, and ſome for their ſquadrons, and for all my own, for I had them chiefly written all at ſea, by reaſon our haſte was ſuch, and being commanded by my lord duke not to let the opportunity of a good wind eſcape us; and beſides, I gave Sir Francis Steward one, who was then appointed rear admiral, as well as to lord Denbigh that ſucceeded him, ſo that I had more writing than others: I had mine delivered ſooner than any,

(3) Earl of Eſſex. (4) Earl of Denbigh.

and

and had no more allowance for ſecretaries than others had. Again, it was expected that I came not from Plymouth without ſome deſign; can any of the council of war aſk ſuch a queſtion, that had the honour to hear his majeſty, after a long debate, condeſcending that we ſhould go directly to St. Lucar's? and for naming the haven of St. Lucar's to be a barred haven, all the world knew that, before we came from Plymouth: but the difficulty was, that it was a dangerous haven, and more dangerous in the winter, as the act of council doth plainly declare; therefore I wonder that ſo many ſufficient counſellors as ten, ſhould lengthen their journal with that doubt; and I am ſure that no ſeaman made that difficulty at Plymouth, neither did any refuſe Sir Samuel Argol's propoſal for St. Mary's port: for the propoſal that Sir Henry Bruce made, that I ſhould ſlight, I muſt put it with other ſlanders that cannot be proved, for he is a worthy gentleman, and one I have longer known in the wars than any of the colonels that were in the troops, and a gentleman I moſt particularly honour; and had the knowledge come from himſelf I ſhould have embraced it with all my heart, yet I could not have done it without the reſt of the colonels, neither could I change the directions which his majeſty had given us: and the propoſal, I did believe, did only come from his maſter, for that himſelf was no ſeaman; yet for all that, I did not neglect it wholly, but called to me ſome captains and maſters that had moſt experience of that place, and underſtood it to be very ſtrong, and but one way to approach it, being well provided with ordnance, and we not able to land any, having loſt our long-boats; and beſides, there was no anchoring but under the power of the caſtle, and that if ſent into the Straits, we might be locked in and be long before we could come out, and conſequently void of all hopes of meeting with the plate fleet.

" That lord Eſſex and lord Cromwell ſhould aſk me what directions I would give them, I muſt ſay here as I told lord Eſſex the

the other day, ſpeaking of it, that I never heard any ſuch thing: then lord Eſſex ſaid, if I ſpoke it not to you, I ſpoke it to Sir Thomas Love: for if I ſhould have been aſked that queſtion, I ſhould not have given any other counſel than what I had written in the inſtructions which I gave my lord for fighting; where the ſeventh and the tenth articles will witneſs moſt clearly for that point, and did forbear to preſs till now that I am urged unto it; therefore if officers of that quality will not read and mark their inſtructions, but pick out faults in him that commandeth, and join with many ſo to do, ſuch ill offices I refute, and appeal to higher powers.

" For the letter that I ſent after lord Eſſex, it was only to deſire his lordſhip to perform the reſolution of the council, which was, to make haſte and anchor before St. Mary's port, but not to forbid him to fight with any ſhip that ſhould give him any occaſion, as my inſtructions will anſwer for me to the contrary.

" Where it is ſaid, that lord Eſſex did brail up his fore ſail, and hover ſome time to ſee whether the lord marſhal would ſend him orders to fight, it doth plainly appear, that my lord had time enough to have maintained a fight with the ſhips, but that ſtill he had forgotten to read his inſtructions: and whereas it is ſaid again, that lord Eſſex, Sir John Prowd, and Sir John Burgh, did adviſe the lord marſhal to attack the ſhips that were fled, I wonder that they did in council give orders to go to Pontal to take that in firſt: however, I am ſure I loſt no minute of time either by night or day, but did my utmoſt to batter and to have undertaken the Spaniſh ſhips likewiſe, as my inſtructions to the ſhips, to which I was appointed to go, can witneſs under my hand; but how could this be done, when Sir Michael Gore did deceive me and his majeſty's ſervice in not warning thoſe twenty ſhips that ſhould have done the buſineſs that night, as the five Dutch ſhips did to the diſhonour of our nation, which, if we had per-

formed,

formed, we had in the morning ſent the ſhips towards Port Royal.

" Whereas it is ſaid, that lord Eſſex was appointed to batter Pontal, and that it was countermanded: the reaſon was, that then lord Eſſex was at anchor, and the other ſhips were floating and coming in, and therefore fitter to go to Pontal, wherefore I changed that reſolution, and ſent Sir Michael Gore to thoſe ſhips to let them know, that they ſhould go up to lord Eſſex's ſhips, to whom I would ſend orders to give thoſe ſhips directions, which I ſent by Sir Thomas York. Whereas it is ſaid, that when I came on board lord Eſſex, there were but very few officers there, or long after, and that there was no council called, it is true, neither was there any need, for that I was executing the reſolution of the council; and even in action, if ever I ſhould aſk counſel, it had been great ſhame, having profeſſed war ſo long as I had done; and as for Sir John Burgh, ſince it has been ſo far particularly mentioned, I muſt ſay I gave him direct orders to land his men as ſafely as poſſible he could, and withal directed with my hand to the place: whereupon he told me, that in his opinion, directly to the ſconce was the beſt; ſo then I told him I held him diſcrete enough, and that he was to do ſo; therefore after I had told him my opinion, I left it to his diſcretion: whereupon he ſending the boat where captain Bremigem commanded and lieutenant Prowd and other ſoldiers to the ſconce, and finding they were not ſafe, went himſelf that way I had directed, but Bremigem and Prowd following his directions, were ſlain, which troubled me not a little.

" And thinking to give me diſquiet enough, they lay to my charge, that it was my fault, that the men with the granadoes were not come up, when I expreſsly commanded him to attend my ſhip: and Sir John Burgh cannot deny, but that I ſent divers meſſengers for him, but he could not be found, and ſince every thing

thing muſt be my fault, and every one muſt accuſe me, I hope it will be a precedent to thoſe that come after me.

" Whereas it is ſaid, that I was preſſed to ſend ſome ſhips up to Port Royal, I cannot remember any ſuch thing for the ſervice of that fort, and the difficulties made me have but little leiſure to diſcourſe with any: I was ſo troubled to ſee the ſhips ſo backward to come up, that I had enough to do to try them, and to ſend to them; for it may be there was much talking, but I ſaw but few to help me but Sir Thomas Love: and whereas they ſay, there were ſhips enough, they that ſay ſo, are much miſtaken; for I was fain to take my barge to draw up more ſhips to batter the fort, and could not get enough, and many of the king's ſhips were aground, which was the cauſe we were ſo long upon Pontal, and yet they ſay, that there were ſhips enough to have gone up, but it ſhews that they took no great heed.

" And whereas it is ſaid, I gave leave to land to any that would, without officers to command them, the ſerjeant major general can witneſs the contrary; for I gave orders to Sir John Burgh to command in chief, and to Sir John Gibſon and ſerjeant major Friar, as good officers as were in the whole army, and ſufficient for the troops that were landed, till I came myſelf, which was not long after: for the calling a council the next day, I thought it not very needful, ſince both haſte was required to empty the ſhips of the landmen to be the readier to undertake the enemy's ſhipping, and that for want of long-boats we ſpent much time, and had much trouble to land our men: ſo that if one ſhould do nothing but call councils, when a man is in action, we ſhould hinder one another: but what I did, I ſpoke openly and gave my reaſons, or oppoſed it, and then I would have called a council; for I did imagine he that was a good ſubject would ſpeak for the ſervice of his majeſty, and not ſtudy to ſpy out errors in a chief, and ſo neglect his majeſty's ſervice to betray him when he came home: it is a ſign he went out with no good in-

tention to do his majeſty ſervice; for he that deſires to do his beſt, will not think of his own particular ends, but of God, his king, and his country: and as for the want of victuals, I think there was never ſo good a commodity, and a more particular and general order than was for the troops firſt, as the acts of council will ſhew then, that there was ſo much landed, and as much of it was brought back again as captain Bruce, captain Salworth, and many other ſea captains, can ſhew witneſs; although one would have thought that men that had victuals by them, and ſuch means as knapſacks as they had for no other purpoſe, that nature herſelf would have taught them not to depart out of their ſhips without taking ſome victuals with them, and Sir John Burgh did deliver before your lordſhips (if I am not miſtaken) that his ſoldiers would have taken ſome victuals with them, but that he told them that if they died they were provided for, and if they lived they would not be far from their ſhips: if ſoldiers do deſire it, what fault is there in the officers that would not provide for them? I am ſure I ſaw many officers provide for themſelves, but if others will be negligent, and think of nothing, but lay all the trouble and blame upon their chief, and when they have meat in their hands will not put it to their mouths without orders, what ſhould one do in ſuch a caſe? that moſt of the officers that were careful had victuals, as my lord duke's regiment, and mine own, and ſome others; and if I ſhould take a general care, and a particular care, and yet be complained of, I muſt think, that they who did neglect providing for their ſoldiers did it on purpoſe to ſlander me: whereas I had given a general order, that all ſoldiers ſhould carry meat in their knapſacks, when they ſhould land in any place whatſoever: theſe voluntary gentlemen that went with me on land can witneſs, as likewiſe my ſervants, yea my very chaplain himſelf carried a knapſack, ſo that I not only gave orders, but obſerved it myſelf, and performed it by my own example: and I that have lived theſe thirty years in the wars, did never know that

upon

upon a guard, that was for twenty-four hours or more, that the general or chief did give orders for victuals, or did ever provide knapſacks, which I would not have done, nor ever did but among raw ſoldiers and upon the coaſt of Spain: but when it hath been for four or five days that it was not poſſible there to get victuals, then there was order given, but never where victuals were to be gotten; and if captains do not take care for any thing, and likewiſe the colonels for ſuch things as are neceſſary, muſt the chief be ſuch a ſlave to do all, and others nothing, but to conſult together how to ſlander him? and becauſe they daily and hourly ſit in council together againſt one, is therefore the cauſe or manner good? I am bold enough now to ſpeak more plainly than I did in my former, which made me aſk your lordſhips leave to break looſe from the ſtake, for I had been baited long enough; for when I heard of a journal compoſed of landmen and ſeamen together againſt their chief, I ſaw it was particular malice, they no ways proving that I had done them any wrong, but making a catalogue of my errors, which I confeſs are many: but God hath not given any of them the grace to find them out: for my part I would never have petitioned to make a journal, if I had not been ſtrictly commanded by my general by his inſtructions, and likewiſe by this honourable table commanded to ſhew; and when I did ſhew it, did think it ſhould not have offended any, but ſuch as are guilty, and for the preſent I did not ſee it have any effect: neither do I find by the petition that it had given any cauſe, till common fame told theſe petitioners they were touched; then they deſired, as they ſay, to be known to be men of honour, their honour then being more clear than now: and whereas it is ſaid, that when I did ride forth it was to diſcover an enemy; they are miſtaken; I went only to diſcover the beſt way for the troops to march; for I did not underſtand that any enemy could give us an alarm by coming out of the town into the gardens that were hard by us, neither do I think him any ſoldier that

put that point into the journal, for the alarm was delivered to me to come from the continent, otherwiſe I had not ſtirred; and for calling a council for ſuch a matter would have been frivolous, except that the army had been commanded by commiſſion, as I find by the petitions they could have wiſhed. Whereas again it is alledged againſt me, that Sir Charles Rich had no victuals; it was not my fault; for coming the laſt, he might have brought ſome with him from on ſhipboard, and if he made not haſte to come ſooner, it was not my fault; yet I am aſſured, that after he had landed, he ſtayed by the water-ſide at leaſt half an hour; and for the other troops that were landed, they had above an hour's time to their victuals; and I plainly ſaw that moſt of them had received victuals, and had ſtaved ſome barrels to drink, which if he had not commanded to their companies would never have given over; ſo that there was time enough for careful officers to have provided for themſelves; but this point I have ſufficiently proved before.

" It is alledged alſo, that the ſerjeant major of colonel Harwood's regiment did come to me, and told me that four companies did want victuals, and that I did anſwer ſharply to him, that now there was no time to ſpeak when we were marching to an enemy; was this ſo ſharp an anſwer? it will be rather proved, I told him more ſharply, that it was a ſhame for him and the other officers to be ſo careleſs as to ſuffer their ſoldiers to come on land without victuals, having proviſion nigh them, and ſuch means to carry it, as it is neceſſary for a colonel to have ſuch a care of his regiment, as I had over the whole army and fleet; for there was not one in either that I did not my beſt to relieve in all kinds, having ſtood upon the half deck of my ſhip whole days without eating or drinking, and yet the world ſees what thanks I have, and how little they have proved againſt me.

" And whereas it is ſaid, that coming to Hercules's pillars, lord Eſſex and Sir John Prowd did tell me, that the troops did want victuals;

victuals; I can remember no ſuch thing, for if any did, it muſt be the companies that landed the day before with Sir John Burgh, which was the reaſon that he went back; for if I had heard, that thoſe troops that were to march had wanted any, I ſhould never have marched forward without calling a council; for the cauſe of my calling a council was to know every man's opinion, whether they thought it fit to march to the bridge or no; but the alarm of my lord of Valentia of the enemy which we did purſue, was the cauſe of hindering that council when they were gathered together: and whereas it is ſaid, that I needed not to have taken the alarm from my lord of Valentia, it being only his particular advice, and yet I am accuſed for omitting Sir Henry Bruce's opinion as a particular man; I fear he that put in that clauſe, hath not been ſo long in the wars as my lord of Valentia hath been, for if I ſhould not believe the report of a ſoldier of that experience, and a chief officer of the army, from whom ſhould I take a report?

"And he that inſinuated that advice, that I might have diſcovered the enemy's horſe with a forlorn hope, was no better ſoldier than the other; for to diſcover horſe with foot, was never heard of, but to diſcover foot with horſe is common: for to ſend out a forlorn hope, and to have it cut off before our faces (which horſe might have done) and we no way able to relieve them, this was wholeſome counſel, and a man fit to judge of the errors of his chief; but time may make him know better, for no man is born a ſoldier, though a man may be too ſoon after he is born, a colonel.

"Whereas my enemies charge me, that the diſorder of the ſoldiers was for want of care, and, that I going before, ſhould have known of the great ſtore of wine; ſhewing, that he that was the cauſe of that conceit, doth think he could have commanded the army better than the lord marſhal: but I ſee though he gives me directions, yet he did not know why I did ride before; for that

that at my going before, I knew of no wine, but went to quarter the troops, which I did myſelf, though it was not my place, neither is there any notice in all the journal of that or any other pains and care which I took of my watching the three nights I was on land; of which, becauſe you ſhould be ſenſible, I came often in the night to you: I take it this relation was to ſome other purpoſe, but all this while I knew of no wine in all the whole village, for it ſeemed to me a barren place.

But after I had quartered the troops, I returned to the houſe of don Lewis de Sodo, to ſee the army march into their quarters; then there was one told me, that there was a cellar with wine in it, and that if it might be delivered to every regiment, it would much refreſh them, becauſe they had no drink, which, as you have heard, I did: now the diſorders that ariſe from wine, it is one of the moſt dangerous miſchiefs that can happen to an army, and I could never hear of an army that could avoid that danger, if it did fall into that inconvenience; for ſoldiers are ſo addicted to drink, eſpecially wine, that I will undertake that if there ſhould be an enemy's army ſtanding nigh wine, they would run into all dangers to ſatisfy that delight; for whereas we ſet guards upon all things that ſhould be preſerved, yet ſet a guard upon wine of common ſoldiers, and the guard will be drunk firſt, as they were in this houſe; for whereas they broke in at four different places where I ſet guards; when I went to viſit one guard, the other would be drunk before I came back again; yea let themſelves ſee, if any man can tell me where an army hath been kept in any order where wine was, and I will confeſs my ignorance; and to prove my argument, Sir John Morris could not do it at Portugal; lord Cumberland could not do it when he was in the Summer iſlands, for moſt of the officers as well as ſoldiers were drunk; in the ſame place Sir Francis Drake, Sir Richard Hawkins, and count Mansfield, when he marched through the out frontiers of France, where he loſt three hundred men by that inconvenience;

and

and lord Vere in the Palatinate, found ſome diſorders, though he had but two thouſand, and it was but Rheniſh wine, yet for the remembrance of it, it was called the drunken quarter as this hath; and ſince in the very ſame place I have underſtood that Conyers Clifford had the ſame miſchance when he loſt an hundred men at leaſt; yet for any thing I could learn, or for any thing delivered to me, we loſt not with ſick and all above twenty, and moſt of theſe were in a houſe, out of which they would not come, do what we could; this is ſufficient to prove how dangerous wine is to an army: and if the king of Spain will defend his country, let him but lodge wine upon his coaſts, and he may overthrow any army with it: now if theſe great commanders (whoſe ſword I am not worthy to carry after them) could not avoid this inconvenience, ſurely then I may be excuſed. I can ſay no more, but that I never did imagine that ſo barren an iſland as that was, could have ſo much wine: and whereas, they would have ſome of the chief officers to have ſtaved the wine, and ſet a guard, I muſt ſay that he who gave that advice, doth not know, that the ſerjeant major general did ſpend almoſt a whole night in ſtaving the wine: I am afraid he was aſleep, when he ſhould have been waking.

"Whereas it is preſuppoſed, there were no guards ſet; it is miſtaken on purpoſe, I fear; for to ſome of the colonels I did ſhew it myſelf, to Sir John Prowd, and gave an order to the ſerjeant major general to ſee that all the reſt did the like, which no colonel of underſtanding would have omitted, being for his own ſafety, and ſo common a thing; and in my abſence it did belong to lord Eſſex, ſo that he that ſays it, did not ſhew much experience; and he that ſaith, I gave lord Eſſex an order without viſiting the place, he is ſtill in the wrong, for I did viſit all the avenues, the ſerjeant major general being with me, which was not for me to do, neither to ſet guards: but by this diſcourſe I find, that he that preſſed this, was not by when it was acted: and whereas again it is ſaid, that that night there was no word given out till two of the clock;

I would know, whether that colonel did ſend his ſerjeant major for the word to the ſerjeant major general, and if it was demanded of him, and he gave it not, let him anſwer for it, for I was no ſerjeant major: but I would have this remarked, that if theſe things ſhould have been neglected (as I am ſure they were not) yet none of theſe fault-finders ever complained to me as they ſhould have done, if they had regarded his majeſty's ſervice as well as they did find out errors; but his majeſty and my lord duke (5) obſerved how theſe ill humours did diſcover themſelves at Plymouth, they could not hide them: ſuch men are like foxes, they are the craftieſt beaſts of all, but there are more of their ſkins that are ſold, than any other beaſt."

CHAP. V.

DIRECTIONS TO SAIL FROM CADIZ TO GIBRALTAR, ETC. A DESCRIPTION OF THE COAST, ETC. ALGEZIRA.

HAVING detained the reader a long while in the Gadirian bay, it is full time to weigh, and ſteer to the pillars of Hercules; deſcribing the pilotage from this remarkable port to thoſe columns, the Ne plus Ultra of the Ancients, the Gibraltar and Ceuta of the Moderns.

To ſail from Cales to the Straits, you muſt go ſouth, and S. by E. to cape Trafalgar, and then you will run far enough without the banks or rocks which lie off S. E. from Cales: from the point of St. Sebaſtian to cape Trafalgar, which is the north point of the Straits on the weſt ſide, it is S. S. E. nine leagues. About two leagues to the northwards of the cape lies Conil; there is a fair ſand bay, where you may anchor twelve, thirteen, and fourteen fathom clean ground.

He that deſires to ſail into the Straits of Gibraltar, coming from Cales, let him ſteer from the point of St. Sebaſtian, which is the

(5) Duke of Buckingham.

weſternmoſt

weſternmoſt point of the iſland Cales, S. by E. and S. S. E. towards the cape Trafalgar, until he is a good way without the land, to avoid the Spaniſh coaſt, which is foul; there lies off W. by S. from the iſland Tarifa, a bank of ſtones, two leagues or two and a half into the ſea, whereupon is eight, nine, or ten feet water; when it blows hard, you may ſee it break: when you are then ſomewhat without the cape Trafalgar, and continue your courſe S. S. E. and S. E. by S. you will make the Barbary ſhore within cape Spartel, about oppoſite to Tangier, lying in a great bight, and ſand bay: upon the weſt point of this bay of Tangier, ſtands a caſtle ſomewhat high; and yet ſomewhat higher, upon the high land, ſtands a little watch tower; but to the eaſtward of Tangier ſtands alſo an old ruinous watch tower, whereby Tangier is very eaſy to be known: from Tangier to Apes hill, the coaſt lies moſt E. N. E. and E. by N. is the right courſe to ſail through the Straits.

If you would ſail into the Straits by night, then keep to the Barbary coaſt, which is very clean, and there you can take no hurt; but the Spaniſh coaſt is foul, as is before ſaid. They that will ſail along by the Spaniſh coaſt, muſt go cloſe along by the ſhore, and run through betwixt the iſland Tarifa and the aforeſaid foul grounds, cloſe along by the iſland; or elſe you muſt keep far off from the iſland to run along without the ſhoals; but in the midſt, near alike unto both the ſhores, it is beſt. Five leagues to the eaſtward of the iſland Tarifa lies cape Cabrita, being the weſt point of the great bay of Gibraltar: over againſt the hill of Gibraltar, a little to the weſtward of it, is a good road for a N. E. wind, in twelve, ten, and eight fathom, not far from the ſhore, acroſs from a great rock, which lies cloſe upon the water ſide, a little to the eaſtwards of the fire tower; a little to the weſtwards of that fire tower, which ſtands upon the aforeſaid point, is a fair ſand ſtrand, betwixt the two towers, there you will lie ſmooth for the weſtern grown ſea.

At Tangier and Tarifa, a S. W. by S. moon makes a full ſea on the ſhore; but in all parts of the Straits' mouth, the flood runs until a W. by S. moon. All the other parts of the Straits' mouth have the flood out of the weſt, which runs in from cape Spartel and cape Trafalgar on each ſide, along by the ſhore, much longer than in the middle, to the eaſtward as far as cape Cabrita on the Spaniſh, and Apes hill on Barbary ſide; and at theſe two points, meets the flood that comes out of the N. E. about the point of Gibraltar, and runs S. W. into the Straits' mouth all the firſt quarter flood; and the remainder of the tide, the flood ſets from the point of Gibraltar W. S. W. towards cape Cabrita. On the top of high water, there comes always out of the weſt, between two capes, a race of a current, which ſpreads the whole Straits' mouth from ſide to ſide, but continues on neither ſide ſeldom longer than half an hour; but in the middle of the Straits' mouth the current runs to the eaſtward very ſtrong all the tide of ebb, and the race of a current falls always between Apes hill and cape Cabrita, at a W. by S. moon; and at that inſtant begins the ebb on the weſt ſide of theſe two points to run to the eaſtward.

The tide of ebb, on the Spaniſh coaſt, runs from cape Cabrita about two leagues broad from the ſhore, as far as the iſland of Tarifa, and runs between the iſland and the main, along the ſhore towards cape Trafalgar; but on the ſouth ſide of the iſland, the ebb runs very narrow, except it be in a ſeries of fair weather.

The tibe of ebb, on the Barbary ſide, runs from Apes hill, but narrow along the ſhore, as far as the point of Alcaſar; but on the weſt ſide of the point, acroſs the bay, the tide runs about three miles broad; and at cape Malabata, which is the eaſternmoſt point of the bay of Tangier, about two miles broad; and ſo continues to the weſtward out to cape Spartel, and from thence the ebb runs S. W. along the ſhore towards Sallée; the ebb to the eaſtward of cape Cabrita and Apes hill is begun by the aforeſaid race of a current, which ſpreads from one ſide to the other between

Gibraltar

Gibraltar and Ceuta point, and runs in E. N. E. in the middle; and from the point of Apes Hill to the point of Ceuta, along the ſhore, all the firſt half tide, and the remaining half tide the current runs from cape Cabrita E. S. E. into the Straits, by the point of Ceuta; and from the point of Gibraltar, the firſt half ebb runs N. E. in towards cape Fangerola; but for the better illuſtration hereof, we have annexed a draught of the Straits' mouth, with the various motions of the tides and currents therein, and upon what point of the compaſs it ebbs and flows in all parts thereof, where the tide is regular and governed by the moon.

Acroſs cape Trafalgar, about three miles diſtant from the ſhore, lies a rock nine feet under water, between which rock, and the cape you may ſail through. From the iſland Tarifa W. by S. lies a ledge of rocks eight or nine, and ten feet under water, which may be ſeen in foul weather by the breach of the ſea.

At the eaſt end of the iſland Tarifa, is a good road for an eaſterly wind, in which you may anchor between twenty and thirteen fathom, becauſe nearer the S. E. point of the iſland, W. S. W. from you, and the ſand hill W. N. W. there you will find fourteen fathom water, clear ground. Between this iſland and the cape Cabrita there is no danger, but what lies always above water. In the middle of this bay is a light-houſe, acroſs this you may anchor in twelve fathom wather, clear ground, a fine diſtance from the ſhore; one third part of the diſtance from the light-houſe to the cape, is twelve fathom, the ground a blue clay, and that is a good road for a N. E. wind; you may borrow on the cape, the rocks to the weſtward of the cape to five fathom. A little to the weſtward of the weſtern point of the bay of Gibraltar, acroſs a little valley in the fair way between this point and cape Cabrita, is a rock eight feet under water, and by the eaſt ſide of this rock is twelve fathom water: at the point of Malabata lies a ledge of rocks joining to the land, that ſtretches a little way into the ſea, but all above water, and you will have five fathom water fair by

the rocks. Note, the tide of ebb runs very ſtrong to the weſtward by this point round the bay of Tangier. To anchor in the bay of Tangier, in clear ground, bring the north wall of the town, and cape Malabata N. E. and there is between nine and ten fathom water at a full ſea: to run through the Straits' mouth, the wind being weſterly, you muſt ply to the windward, on the Spaniſh ſide, from the point of Gibraltar to cape Cabrita, and from thence to the iſland of Tarifa; but you muſt turn round about the cape a little before high water, that you may have time to make two or three ſhort boards to the weſtward of the cape, before the race of the current comes out of the weſt, which continues but a very little while; which being paſt, the ebb begins to run unto the weſtward, and runs ſo ſtrong, that you may turn up to the iſland in one tide of ebb; but if you cannot, you may ſtop the flood any where between the cape and the iſland, in twelve or fourteen fathom water; and there you muſt anchor, until ſo much of the flood be ſpent, that you may get over to the Barbary ſide to take the tide of the ebb there; and if you fall a little to the weſtward of the point of Alcafara, you may get into the bay of Tangier by a low water, from whence you may, obſerving the tide, turn out at pleaſure.

A FURTHER DESCRIPTION OF GIBRALTAR BAY:

Gibraltar is a large bay, and has a pretty large town, ſtrongly fortified; which formerly belonged to the Spaniards, but now to the Engliſh, ſituated at the foot of a very high hill on your ſtarboard ſide going in; to the ſouthward of this town is a mole, in which you may lie in five or ſix fathom water; and to the northward of the ſaid town is another mole called the Old Mole, but fit only for ſmall craft, for there is not above ſix feet at low water. The ground between theſe two moles is very foul, and rocky near the ſhore; but the anchoring is pretty good about half a mile or three quarters of a mile out, in fifteen, twenty, or twenty-five fathom

fathom water, coarſe ſand; but the only and beſt place for anchoring in this bay, is to the northward of the town, in eight or nine fathom water, fine ſand: bringing the Old Mole head about S. E. off you, and the N. end of Gibraltar hill eaſt off you, and there you may ſafely ride. To the weſtward of this bay are a few houſes, and old ruins, which they call Old Gibraltar; here you may alſo anchor in caſe of neceſſity, or otherwiſe one would not chooſe it, for that ground is very bad, eſpecially near the ſhore; and in the offing the water is ſo deep, that you have no ground in ninety or a hundred fathom water. For a better knowledge of that place, I refer you to the following ſcheme of Gibraltar bay; I ſhall only add, that if you would ſail out of this road with an eaſterly wind, you muſt not come too near Gibraltar hill, but rather go a little afore the wind towards the weſtern ſhore, as above directed.

On the Spaniſh coaſt about eight leagues N. N. E. from Gibraltar, lies Eſtepona, having between them ſeveral fire towers, with good anchoring ground on the coaſt: if you come to anchor near to the next fire tower eaſtward from Gibraltar, then let Gibraltar bear S. S. W. from you; and drop your anchor in twenty-five fathom, where you will have good anchor ground and black ſand. Here you have the beſt lying for a Levant wind to ſail out of the Straits; at the ſecond tower, you may anchor in twenty and twenty-two fathom good ground; here alſo there is a valley whence you may fetch water.

You may anchor before Eſtepona in fourteen fathom water.

To the eaſtward from Eſtepona, about ſix leagues lieth Maribella, having between them five watch towers; Máribella lies about fourteen leagues N. N. E. from Gibraltar.

In ſailing in for Maribella, you are to take notice of two great pack houſes which ſtand upon the ſtrand, and a four ſquare watch tower near the eaſt ſide of the pack houſes; then bring the gate of the city to be ſeen between the pack houſes, and the watch

tower, where you may anchor in nine or ten fathom, becauſe the ground is not good directly oppoſite the town.

And you may have freſh water about a faker's ſhot to the eaſtward of the city.

About five leagues and a half E. N. E. from Maribella, lies Fangerola, having between them five watch towers.

Fangerola is a caſtle ſeated in a fair ſandy bay; here you have ſhelter for W. S. W. winds, and good even anchoring ground in ſeven or eight fathom.

E. N. E. about three leagues from Fangerola lies cape Malaga, or cape Mool (the weſt point of the bay of Malaga.)

And from cape Malaga N. E. three leagues, lies the city of Malaga, having between them a fair coaſt, with ten or twelve fathom good anchor ground any where therein.

Malaga is eaſily known by theſe marks; there ſtands on the eaſt ſide a fort, and there are two walls deſcending downwards to another fort towards the ſea.

To anchor in this road, bring the head to bear N. by E. from you, then you may anchor at ten, eleven, twelve, thirteen, and fourteen fathom good ground.

As I am now under way from the Sinus Gaditanus, following the courſe of the coaſting pilot, through the Fretum Herculeum, I ſhall touch upon paſt incidents as they may occur.

To the ſouthward of cape Cottes (now Spartel, or Sprat) landed king don Sebaſtian, a monarch endowed with the happieſt diſpoſition (1) that could be wiſhed for from a prince: the greateſt proof that can be given of his magnanimity, is, that notwithſtanding he was brought up in ſoftneſs and effeminacy among women and eccleſiaſticks, he had ſcarce attained to years of maturity when he was obſerved to languiſh for nothing but honour

(1) Vertot's Revolutions in Spain.

and

and renown: he undertook the conqueſt of Africa in one thouſand five hundred and ſeventy-eight, to which he was no leſs ſpurred on by his zeal for the Chriſtian religion than, by his own natural ambition. His forces appeared to be very much inferiour to ſo great an enterprize, which did not, however, deter him from paſſing over into Barbary with his army, which conſiſted of no more than fourteen thouſand men; nor from attacking Muley Melec, king of Morocco, one of the moſt powerful princes in the univerſe, and who waited his coming with an army of fifty thouſand ſtrong. So raſh an attempt had the expected ſucceſs: the king don Sebaſtian, oppreſſed by the unequal numbers of his enemies, was entirely defeated. He was, in vain, preſſed to yield himſelf priſoner, and was killed in the twenty-third year of his age, after having done actions which deſerve never to be forgotten.

To the northward of cape Trafalgar, is the town of Conil, ſituated upon the coaſt of the ſea, where the Atlantic preſents her vaſt ocean, being without the capes Trafalgar and Spartel; and therefore Carteia could not have ſtood where that town now ſtands. Between theſe capes are no eddies, nor are they violent till you come near to Tarifa; therefore Maherbal's action with Lælius, muſt have been between the iſle of Tarifa and Cabrita point: this is a further proof that Carteia muſt have been in Gibraltar bay; and Lælius, who rode at anchor off Carteia in that bay, deſcried the quinquereme detached by the Carthaginian admiral, weighing and putting out of that bay: where, obſerving the fleet following the quinquereme at a diſtance, Lælius rowed along the Spaniſh coaſt to intercept Maherbal from entering the Mediterranean: and the foul ground about Tarifa, with the counter currents, occaſions thoſe eddies, which are ſometimes very dangerous to ſmall veſſels. Theſe rocks and foul grounds now under water, perhaps were thoſe certain iſlands called Aphrodiſiæ, planted by the Phocenſes, already mentioned; and might have been ſunk by ſome earthquake:

quake: this is not at all improbable, ſimilar events from the ſame cauſe are ſo well known, that it is needleſs to expatiate.

About a mile and three quarters ſouth of Cabrita, which is a bluff, rocky point, and forms the weſtern ſide of Gibraltar bay, is a ſunk rock, on which one of his majeſty's ſhips ſtruck in turning through the Straits' mouth; it has fifteen feet water over it, and bears S. E. from that point of land to the weſtward of Pigeon iſland at three quarters of a mile diſtance; there are many rocks round both theſe points, and Pigeon iſle. On Cabrita point is a watch or light tower, and a one gun battery; a tower is alſo on the other point, and another to the weſtward at a mile and a half diſtance. Two miles north of Cabrita, projects another point, rocky, and ſhoals, for half a mile into the bay; on this is a light tower, and a four gun battery: a mile and three quarters from this point is the iſland of Alcacera, which gave name to the town; and here the Moors firſt landed: you muſt give it a good birth, becauſe ſhoals of rocks lie off it upwards of a quarter of a mile to the eaſtward: this iſle is garriſoned and has nine cannon mounted; there are two reefs of rocks from it to the ſhore diſtant half a mile to the neareſt land. To the northward of the iſle you may come to anchor, but it is dangerous riding in a Levanter or eaſterly wind, and ſhould be avoided. It has a good harbour for ſmall craft, between the iſle and the town of Algezira; becauſe the iſle and reefs of rocks break off the ſea. There is a ſix gun battery at the north end of the town, which, with the iſle, their town, and xebecks, gallies, &c. are protected: this town of Algezira I viſited in one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-three. It is ſituated on the ſide of the bay almoſt due weſt of the city of Gibraltar, at five miles and a half diſtance right acroſs; and four miles due north from Cabrita point. It was once the ſeat of the African empire in Spain; ſituated on the plain of a riſing ground, and not, as father Mariana deſcribes, on a ſteep and craggy hill; it was two diſtinct towns, divided into the old and new,

new, as its ruins ſtill ſhew; for the town to the north is only inhabited, and ſeparated by a rivulet: the lands round are fertile and pleaſant; but at about a mile and a half weſtward, are mountains, ſome of them quite naked, and others clothed with large cork woods: theſe mountains are a long range of hills, firſt riſing very leiſurely, called Oreſpeda: it then divides into ſeveral branches, having diſtinct appellations: at length into two: one of them, oppoſite to Murcia, expires in the ſea near Muxara, or Murgis: the other ſtretches towards Malaga, and joining to the mountains of Granada, ſhoots beyond Gibraltar and Tarifa, as if it was once inclinable to have paſſed over into Africa; which perhaps it does, though not ſo aſpiring, humbling itſelf, ſo as to be covered by the five-fold currents of the Straits: and then, as Cales rears its white head, ſo does Mons Abila in Africa: and nothing more than a branch of the mountain Oreſpeda: for were the waters of the Straits to retire like thoſe of Jordan, or gather in a heap like thoſe of the Red or Erythræan ſea, when the whole Memphian hoſt were loſt, a rocky ridge might be diſcovered, which joins Africa to Europe about the Junonian iſle, or Tarifian mountains: the tail of the ox's hide ſtretched out; for as the head is lopped off at the Pyrenean hills, ſo the tail ſeems to be chopped off at Tarifa, that which lies hid being under the waters of the Straits.

All Spain, ſays Lucan (2), ſpreads itſelf in the ſhape of an ox's hide, ſurrounded on every ſide by the ſea, and formed almoſt like an iſland, except that the Pyrenean mountain intermixing itſelf with Gaul, ſeparates it from the north pole. That nature has planted this lofty mountain, whoſe top is equal to the ſky, to occaſion a diviſion between ſuch extenſive territories: the ſoil bare and covered with no graſs, becauſe the northern ſide of it is expoſed to the very fat and fertile country of the Gauls: and on the oppoſite ſide, the woodland ſummit, whoſe view extends to the

(2) Lucan, lib. v.

barren fields of Iberia's land, repreſents thick woods and fruitful paſtures; as if that mountain had granted its richneſs to the fertile fields of Gaul, and that it might clothe itſelf with verdure, had robbed the Iberian clime. Taric, the Moor, landed upon the iſle before this town, and Algezira took name from it, i. e. the iſland. After they had gained firm footing, they built this town from the materials of Carteia: it was certainly built by theſe people at their firſt coming: and although there are great ruins, as Mr. Conduit has juſtly remarked, yet they are not ſuch as can give any room to believe them the remains of a Roman city; for the walls of the town, diſperſed and overſet in great fragments, are of the compoſition called tapia, peculiar to the Moor; and uſed by that people in the building of their walls; which, when finiſhed, is a compact wall, and in time petrifies, and conſolidates with the hardeſt ſtone, and of which there are two ſorts.

No building is in this town, but of the Mooriſh ſtile; no Roman fragments of buildings, no Roman coins are here found in removing the earth, or any one thing to countenance ſuch a conjecture. It is true, there are ſome pieces of marble blended among their buildings, and diſperſed in the town, but they were taken from Carteia.

The iſland is expoſed to the fire of our ſhips, which, when taken, commands Algezira; and would, ſhould Gibraltar be beſieged, retard the ſiege of that fortreſs, by preventing their veſſels from ſupplying them with ordnance, ſtores, and ammunition, for their batteries.

The Moors, after landing, marched to Medina Sidonia, which they took by aſſault after a ſiege of ſome days. Algezira underwent ſome ſieges whilſt in poſſeſſion of the Moors; when at length it ſurrendered on the twenty-ſixth of March to the Chriſtians, and of their æra one thouſand three hundred and forty-four. The Moors landed in ſeven hundred and eleven. At this laſt ſiege, to the aſſiſtance of Alonzo of Caſtile, went the earls of Derby and Saliſbury.

Saliſbury. The Mahometans did great harm to the beſiegers, by ſhooting iron bullets amongſt them; and it is the firſt time mention is made, ſays Mariana, of gunpowder and ball in the Spaniſh hiſtories. I ſaw a great many ſtone ſhot about the town, perhaps they were carried there afterwards; or were uſed inſtead of iron, inſerted by miſtake by the Spaniſh hiſtorians, becauſe ſtone ſhot of a vaſt diameter were originally uſed before iron balls were invented, or rather improved upon the other.

In the courſe of the ſiege, the Engliſh and French ſoldiers went away, which encouraged the infidels to hazard a battle. The river Palmones, four miles northward of Algezira, humouring the curvature of the bay, parted the two armies: both parties ſeveral times meeting in that river; at laſt they came to a battle, in which the Moors ſhewed no bravery, but preſently fled. The Palmones is broader and deeper than the Guadaranque about a mile to the eaſtward, where ſtood the ancient Calpe Carteia, but does not run ſo high up the country as I was informed by the natives. It is, as well as the Guadaranque, a pleaſant ſtream; gliding through a beautiful country in the months of March, April, May, and part of June, for then the hot ſeaſon advances; and is therefore the ſeaſon for ſtrangers to viſit this part of the country. The propereſt ſeaſon to viſit the Mediterranean ports may be learnt from the following anſwer of a Spaniard to Philip the ſecond, who aſked him, which were his beſt harbours? To which the don replied, "June, July, and Carthagena."

This town at preſent conſiſts of ſcattered houſes, which ſtand between rubbiſh and decayed buildings; ſo that in general the place is in a poor, mean condition. Having ſatisfied myſelf with the Mooriſh remains of antiquity, not finding any thing that could give the leaſt encouragement to believe that the city of Carteia or Tarteſſus ever occupied this place, or any Roman town whatever: I conclude, as I began, that no town was ever in the

bay of Gibraltar before the Mooriſh deſcent; except the ancient Carteia upon the river of Mares where Rocadillo is now ſituated, diſtant five miles from the glacis of Gibraltar.

Taric, that martial general, ſeeing that his enterprize had been attended with conſequences far more ſucceſsful than what he could have preſumed to aſpire to, even in hopes, thought himſelf bound in duty to render an account of his proceedings to his ſuperiour, Mouſa; and the ſooner to engage him to partake of the glory which muſt accrue to their nation, he repreſented to him, the immenſe wealth of Spain, and with how little difficulty he might get the whole country into his poſſeſſion. Taric painted out the Spaniards as an effeminate, diſpirited, terrified, vagabond people, miſerably diſperſed ſince they had loſt their king, and far fitter to carry fetters upon their legs than to bear weapons in their hands. In a word, he gave him to underſtand, that if he would not ſpeedily come over himſelf to ſtrike the finiſhing ſtroke, and complete the ruin of the Gothic empire, he would himſelf undertake it, and anſwer for the performance thereof with his own head; and that in a very ſhort ſpace of time; but ſtill with the proviſo, that he would furniſh him with neceſſary recruits of men, having been obliged to diminiſh his army by employing a conſiderable part of his troops in garriſons to ſecure the ſeveral cities, &c. which he had thought to preſerve undemoliſhed: Mouſa, without the leaſt heſitation, immediately undertook to croſs the Straits in perſon, which he did, at the head of eighteen thouſand Africans; being convinced, that the reduction of ſo opulent a kingdom was an enterprize fully ſufficient to ſatisfy his boundleſs ambition, and inſatiable thirſt after riches.

Being arrived at Gibraltar, where he landed, he called an aſſembly of his moſt experienced commanders, to conſult with them the propereſt methods in order to complete the deſtruction of the Goths, and to bring them under the moſt ſervile, abject, and infamous bondage that it could be imagined one of the fierceſt and moſt

moſt warlike nations in the univerſe could poſſibly ever be reduced; and they came to a reſolution of not leaving behind them one place that might be capable of cauſing any diſturbance in the already vanquiſhed provinces: and that it was altogether neceſſary to make ſure of the places of the greateſt ſtrength before they advanced into the heart of the country. This ſcheme had the deſired effect (3), for they over-ran the whole country in an amazing manner. When I come to treat of Gibraltar, I ſhall be very particular; I ſhall now return to the Straits, ſo called from that hill, which the Spaniards call El Plaça, on account of its garriſon and importance; and the inhabitants about this town of Algezira; the dead man, becauſe the ſummit of that mountain has, at that diſtance, the appearance of a man lying upon his back, his head, fall of the neck, riſing cheſt, ſinking ſtomach, thighs and legs ſtretched out, covered, or rather ſwaddled from head to foot: the head being at the northernmoſt end at the rock-guard, lengthening to the extremities of the feet, to the ſouthward: I have often viewed it myſelf in the ſame light, after having the hint from a captain of one of the king of Spain's xebecks of war, otherwiſe it might have eſcaped my obſervation.

This once famous city of Algezira, that the Moors held out three notable ſieges in it againſt the kings of Caſtile, and was at laſt taken by Alphonſo the eleventh, begins now to riſe out of her ruins, in which ſhe has laid ever ſince that period, as the Spaniards have lately built ſeveral houſes, and are going to erect a new ſtreet and convent. When I walked over the ruins of this city, that once made a figure in the world, by its vaſt ſtrength, the ſieges which it has ſuſtained, the troops of various nations before it, the ſupplies from other powers to reduce it; it being the firſt place where the Moors made their deſcent to over-run a whole nation in as few years as it took centuries to regain; its being

(3) Vertot's Hiſt. of Spain, p. 235.

once

once the African emporium in Spain, the firſt city where artillery was made uſe of in Europe, and which in a few years after, in a great meaſure, gained that ever memorable battle of Creſſy: a city, where ſeveral crowned heads have laid before; where ſome have gone from this life to a better: a city, of which don (4) Alphonſo and Philip the fifth, among their other titles, ſtiled themſelves kings, as well as of Gibraltar: and the battles fought near, and round, upon its account: I ſay, when I conſidered all theſe paſt events, and viewed it as I walked, I could not help breaking forth in the words of Mr. Shaw (5):

" In what a ſerious train of thought a traveller can ſcarce fail " of being engaged, when he views ſuch large ſcenes of ruin and " deſolation! He is ſtruck immediately with the very ſolitude of " thoſe remains that are left behind, which inſtructive hiſtory " tells him, were once crowded with inhabitants: where empe- " rours and kings have given laws in their turns. Every fragment " of ruins points out to him the weakneſs and inſtability of all " human art and contrivance: reminding him, further, of the " many thouſands that lie buried below, now loſt in obſcurity, " and forgotten to the world!"

I have already related the famous ſiege in one thouſand three hundred and forty-two, carried on with ſucceſs by that perſevering prince, Alonzo the eleventh; and ſhall therefore ſay no more upon that ſubject. Vertot relates, that Abdelmelec, the ſon of Mahomet, who was the fifth of that name, and ſon of Iſhmael, croſſed the Straits of Gibraltar, at the head of a numerous army, in one thouſand three hundred and thirty-three, and having aſſumed the quality of king of Algezira, that king Mahomet looked with a jealous eye upon the eſtabliſhment of that young prince,

(4) In 1465. Vid. Turquet's Hiſt. of Spain, B. xxi. p. 794. (5) Vid. Mr. Thomas Shaw's Travels, or Obſervations.

who,

who being preſumptive heir to the crown of Morocco, might one day be in a capacity to renew the pretenſions which that crown had to the ſovereignty over the Moors in Spain. Such was once the conſequence of Algezira and the country about it; for by being in poſſeſſion of that ſtrong and well ſituated city, it could always be a ſafe port of reception to the Moors who might come over from Africa.

I alſo find, that, in the year one thouſand three hundred and nine, Caſtile and Arragon made an alliance againſt the Moors in Spain: that one of them undertook the ſiege of Almeria, and the other of Algezira, but were unfortunate in their attempts, not being able to take either. However, the Caſtilians made themſelves maſters of Gibraltar, Queſada, and Bedmar.

I ſhall ſay no more for the preſent of Algezira, but may occaſionally touch upon it, when I ſhall treat of Gibraltar; I muſt once more embark my readers for the Herculean Straits, going far back; premiſing, that in the year of Chriſt one thouſand four hundred and ſixty-three, the king don Alphonſo, of Portugal, made war upon the Moors of Africa; he left Ceuta, and arrived at Gibraltar, at the intreaty and perſuaſion of king Henry of Caſtile, where theſe two princes remained and continued together for the ſpace of eight days, eating at one table, and ſhewing great tokens of love and brotherly friendſhip one to the other (6).

In this ſame year, don Alphonſo conducted a great army into Africa, and ſet down before Tangier: he was followed by all the nobility of Portugal: after he had inveſted that old city, he was obliged to paſs over to Gibraltar, the affairs of ſtate calling him into Spain: but during his abſence, his troops received an overthrow, as they attempted to ſcale the walls of Tangier, where a great number of men of diſtinction and merit were ſlain and taken.

(6) Vid. Turquet's Hiſt. Spain, B. xx. p. 776.

Upon

Upon intelligence of this check which his troops had ſuſtained, he embarked at Gibraltar, and ſailed over into Africa: he made his deſcent on the mountainous and woody country of Benaca, from whence he was obliged to retire, after having ſuſtained great loſs; and he himſelf narrowly eſcaped, by don Edward de Meneſes, earl of Viona, ſacrificing his own life to ſave that of the king's. The earl of Villa Real covered the retreat, and, by his valour and prudence, ſaved the army, fighting bravely, and defending it by his example againſt an amazing number of Moors.

The king, deſirous to reward the proweſs of this earl, did not only publicly praiſe him, but alſo gave him the honour of being the ſhield and defender of the faith the ſame day. Theſe adverſe fortunes obliged king Alphonſo to return back into Portugal; where (agreeably to thoſe times) he applied himſelf to vows and pilgrimages, thereby to appeaſe the ſaints, patrons, and conductors, as he thought, of his unhappy and diſaſterous enterprizes.

King Henry of Caſtile, at his departure from Gibraltar, went to Eccia, where he aſſembled a mighty army, and invaded the territories of Granada, but the ambaſſadors of king Iſhmael, the Moor, met him, and preſented the tribute, with ſundry other gifts, ſo that he paſſed on no further, but diſmiſſed his forces, and went to Jaen.

In one thouſand four hundred and thirty-eight (7), the ſacred war of Africa, which was led by don Ferdinand, maſter of Avis, and don Henry, maſter of the order of Chriſt, infants of Portugal, did not meet with the deſired ſucceſs: they had obtained leave by great importunities from the king their brother to paſs the ſea to Barbary, where they beſieged Tangier with an army of only ſix thouſand men from Portugal. They continued the ſiege thirty-ſeven days, but the beſieged defended themſelves well, which gave time for the Moors to aſſemble a vaſt army. This infinite

(7) Turquet's Hiſt. Spain, B. XIX. p. 713.

multitude

multitude of Africans, both horſe and foot, arrived to the ſuccour of the place, led by the kings of Fez, Morocco, Velez, and other princes in perſon. Upon this the Portugueſe endeavoured to retire, but being in a manner inveſted, they were forced to fortify themſelves, and change their condition of beſiegers, ſo as to have no means to eſcape; and were therefore under the neceſſity to capitulate for their lives and liberty, promiſing to yield the town of Ceuta, and all the captive Moors that were in Portugal. This being agreed on, don Henry and his men were ſent back naked and ſtripped to Ceuta. The infant don Ferdinand remained for an hoſtage in the hands of the king of Fez, until the capitulation was complied with. But don Henry being returned with this diſbanded army into Portugal, king Edward aſſembled the ſtates of the realm at Ebora, greatly diſtreſſed at this unhappy cataſtrophe, to take ſome courſe for the delivery of don Ferdinand. They came to a reſolution of not complying with the delivery of Ceuta, but conſented to all other means to free don Ferdinand. The difficulty and delays were ſuch, together with the death of king Edward, that don Ferdinand paſſed the reſt of his days in priſon in the hands of the infidels with a peculiar conſtancy, and a rare example of patience and religion, comforting the other captive Chriſtians, not only as they ſaw a prince participate of their miſeries, but alſo one who encouraged them by godly exhortations to continue conſtant in the faith of our Saviour. Such was the unlucky and raſh ſtep of this expedition!

As theſe Straits of Gibraltar have ever been an inlet to the Mediterranean ſeas, as alſo an outlet for the moſt ancient navigators, it is but reaſonable to conclude, that vaſt fleets, and numberleſs ſhips have entered the ſame, from about the days of the Tyrian navigators to this time. The vaſt ſpace, with the various revolutions in all countries, and the ſilence of authors, with the loſs of many, puts it out of my power to give the reader every event of nautical affairs, that muſt have happened between the Herculean

pillars: all that I can ſay upon this occaſion, is, that they muſt have been almoſt innumerable, their trade immenſe, their veſſels large, their actions great, and the friendly ports of Carteia, Tingis, and Gadir, moſt happily ſituated for commerce, ſafety, and protection; each of them fraught with ſuch variety of great and noble events, as would ſwell theſe ſheets to a prodigious ſize, had they been faithfully tranſmitted down to us. But what does not time ſubdue, aided by cruel wars, that lay whole nations deſolate, and ſweep away all records of countries into the ruins of thoſe very countries of which they treat.

The Phœnicians, from whom the Carthaginians were deſcended, navigated into the ocean by the Straits of Gibraltar, and eſtabliſhed may colonies; Thebes in Bæotia, Cadiz, Carteia, Utica, Tingis, &c. It was under the conduct of the Phœnicians, that Solomon's fleets ſailed to Ophir and Tharſis from the ports of Ailath and Eziongeber on the Red ſea. Ophir was the general name of the eaſtern ports of Africa, and Tharſis that of the weſtern coaſt both of Africa and Spain. This commerce, Jehoſaphat, king of Judah, endeavoured to renew, but his enterprize was blaſted by the deſtruction of his veſſels in the harbour. It is paſt all doubt that the cape of Good Hope was doubled in thoſe early times: and that the Portugueſe were not the firſt diſcoverers of that navigation (8). I ſhall therefore only confine myſelf to theſe Straits.

No Perſian monarch ever made a greater figure at ſea than Mithridates, who diſputed the empire of the Mediterranean with the Romans, made himſelf maſter of it from the Cilician to the Ionian ſea; (which latter was all the ſea between Sicily and Greece, of which the Adriatic, ſpeaking properly, is but a part), and to repreſs the Roman naval power, and interrupt their trade, filled the whole Mediterranean with pirates as far as the Straits of Gibraltar, where they lay ſecure in that bay.

(8) Arbuthnot on Coins, p. 220.

Cicero (9) calls the inhabitants of Cadiz, Pœni; by which you know them to have been Phœnicians.

The Carthaginians, who were the deſcendents of the Phœnicians, at the beginning of the third Punic war, had ſeven hundred thouſand inhabitants. It was once miſtreſs of three hundred cities, poſſeſſed all that tract of land from the Straits of Gibraltar to the greater Syria, beſides a great extent of territories without the Straits on the coaſt of Afric, (where Hanno eſtabliſhed many colonies) and a part of Spain, particularly the magnificent city of Carthagena, which they built: beſides the iſland in the ocean far beyond the Straits of Cadiz, which the author of the Book of Wonders attributes to Ariſtotle, &c.

The Spaniards and Phœnicians had great eſtabliſhments in Spain; they traded to the weſtern part of England, and the other Britiſh iſles, comprehended by the Ancients under the general name of Caſſiterides, from the tin with which they abounded. The commerce of lead and tin was ſo lucrative, that they kept it a great ſecret. Strabo relates, that a Phœnician being purſued by a Roman veſſel, choſe to daſh his ſhip againſt the rocks, to draw the Roman after him, rather than diſcover his courſe. Publius Craſſus afterwards made that voyage, and publiſhed his journal: both Diodorus (1) Siculus and Tacitus (2) acquaint us, that trade had civilized the inhabitants of Cornwall more than thoſe of the other parts of Great Britain. Strabo (3) relates, that the commodities of England were corn, cattle, gold, ſilver, iron, ſkins, leather, and hunting dogs; and, ſpeaking of the Caſſiterides, he adds tin (4) and lead: Tacitus (5) joins pearls: Cæſar mentions neither gold, ſilver, nor pearls. Cicero (6) affirms, in expreſs terms, from the information of his brother Quintus, that there

(9) Cicero pro Balbo. (1) Lib. IV. (2) In Vitâ Agricolæ, lib. XXIV. (3) Strabo, lib. IV. (4) Ibid, lib. III. (5) Tacitus vitâ Agricolæ, cap. xii. (6) Cicero, Epiſt. fam. lib. VII. ad Trebat. Epiſt. ad Atticum, lib. IV. Epiſt. 17. & 116.

was neither gold nor ſilver in England, which ſhews, that the Engliſh metals were not then known to the Romans, but were ſo, very ſoon afterwards; for Strabo, who talks of their tin and lead trade, lived under Auguſtus and Tiberius. There was either no copper, or not a ſufficient quantity in England at that time, becauſe they were furniſhed with that metal from abroad (7). Tin from the Baracanac iſles, was a great commodity for the mart of Tyre, and lead and tin from the ſame place were uſed in the time of the Trojan war.

Herodotus (8) affirms, that the Greeks had their tin from thence, and called the part from whence they took it, Caſſiterides.

Spain (at leaſt the ſouthern parts) was always much more famous for traffick than Gaul. The Phœnicians frequented it, eſpecially that part which lies towards the Straits of Gibraltar at the mouth of the Bætis, celebrated by ancient authors under the name of Tharſis (9). The prophet, when treating of the rich ſupply of Tyre, ſays, "Tarſhiſh was thy merchants, by reaſon "of the multitude of all kind of riches; with ſilver, iron, tin, "and lead, they traded in thy fairs."

Pliny writes, that the Romans ſteered the ſame courſe to the Eaſt Indies, which the fleet of Alexander did, and deſcribes it exactly from Alexandria to the Indies; he ſays, the deſire of gain had made the merchants ſteer ſhorter courſes ſometimes by taking the open ſea, by ſailing from one cape to another, which was both a ſafer and a ſhorter courſe. What he ſays concerning the circumnavigation of Africa, from the Straits of Gibraltar to the Red ſea is very remarkable, and puts the matter of fact beyond all doubt. This he proves from the wrecks of veſſels, which had ſailed from the coaſt of Spain, the broken pieces whereof were found in the Red ſea. He ſpeaks of Hanno's journal of the ſame

(7) Cæſar, lib. v. cap. xii. de Bell. Gall. Strabo, lib. III. (8) Herod. lib. III. cap. xv. (9) Ezek. xxvii. 12.

voyage,

voyage, as a thing certain; and adds, upon the credit of Cornelius Nepos, a faithful hiſtorian, that one Eudoxus, flying from Ptolemy Lathyrus, king of Egypt, embarked on the Red ſea, and landed at Cadiz (1).

The Phœnicians, after the death of Hercules, were inticed to continue in theſe parts of Spain, upon account of the trade which they had ſet on foot from Britain to Cadiz, Carteia, &c. and Tingis, Tiggir, or Taggar, which ſignifies traders: to Tyre, the coaſt of Phœnice, &c. and the ſilver mines, called the mountains of ſilver; whereof the inhabitants found ſuch quantities in Spain, that they forged their anchors and other utenſils of their ſhips of that metal. Beſides metals, Spain furniſhed ſeveral other rich commodities, as wine, wool, ſtuffs, linen cloth, (of which they were ſaid to be the inventors) honey, wax, borax, vermillion, foſſiles, ſalt, pickled fiſh, and a ſort of ruſh called ſpartum, uſeful for cordage and other parts of ſhipping, from whence Carthagena was called Spartaria. But oil muſt not have been plentiful, even in this province of Andaluſia, in thoſe times, ſince Ariſtotle (2) ſays, "That they purchaſed it of the Phœnicians with bars of "ſilver." In the time of Auguſtus and Tiberius theſe ſouthern coaſts of Spain ſent great fleets of merchantmen to Italy (3). The mountains of Spain abounded with metals and minerals of ſeveral kinds, particularly gold, quickſilver, copper, and lead; the greateſt quantities of which, appear, however, to have been dug out of thoſe called Mariani, in this province of Bætica, which the Romans improved to no ſmall advantage, having every where their procuratores rei metallicæ, or overſeers of the mines (4). Strabo ſays, that in the one hundred and ſixteenth year of Rome,

(1) Plin. lib. VI. cap. xxiii. Lib. II. cap. lxvii. (2) Opera Philoſoph. lib. III. (3) Arbuthnot on Coins. (4) Univ. Hiſt. Vol. XVIII. B. IV. c. xxiv. p. 475.

the

the Spaniards were ſo rich, that their mangers and water-troughs were made of ſilver (5).

This province of Bætica was remarkable for fine ſoil, climate, and produce; and ſo little did the inhabitants know of phyſic, that, if Poſſidonius may be believed, they uſed, like the Luſitani, to lay their ſick relations along the public ſtreets and roads, to have the advice of ſuch paſſengers as could give it to them. He adds, that their very women were ſo robuſt and healthy, that they knew not what it was to keep their bed after they were delivered; but uſed to go to their ordinary work, which was commonly agriculture, after they had taken proper care of themſelves and the child. Their mountains, as well as valleys, afforded them plenty of corn for men, and barley for their horſes and cattle: the former of which, they bred from the beginning in great quantities, and managed with great dexterity both at home and abroad, and eſpecially in their warlike expeditions. The milk of their kine was, it ſeems, ſo very rich and fine, from the fragrant herbs they fed upon on thoſe healthy mountains, that it could not be uſed either for food or drink, or even, as is told by the above-mentioned author, to make cheeſe with, without ſome mixture of water. As for fruits of all kinds, they grow there in the greateſt perfection: as for mineral waters, they flow, in the greateſt quantity, both hot and cold: the moſt famous of the warm kind are thoſe of Hiſpal, Cordoua, and Granada. So on the lands of the Baſtuli, up the river Verde by Eſtapona, at the village and paſs of Eſtan, are medicinal cold waters; and where ſeveral of us went for the recovery of our healths, from the garriſon of Gibraltar in one thouſand ſeven hundred and fifty-three, which in four weeks had the deſired effect.

I find in the fabulous hiſtory of Spain, that the river Bætis took its name from Bætus, the ſixth king, and laſt of the line of Tubal,

(5) Mariana's Hiſt. Spain.

as

as alſo the province of Bætia, or Bætica, formerly Turditania, and ſince Andaluſia, had their names: he is ſaid to have been ſurnamed Turditanus, on account of his introducing, as well as encouraging learning. Father Mariana following the fabulous Beroſus, ſays, there was a ſecond Dionyſius, or Bacchus, who was the ſon of Semele, one hundred and fifty years before the Trojan war, founded Nebrixa, betwixt the two mouths of the Guadalquivir, ſo called from Nebridæ, which ſignifies in Greek, deer ſkins, worn by Dionyſius and his followers, eſpecially when they offered ſacrifice; the name Veneria was afterwards given to Nebrixa.

Diodorus writes, that there were three Dionyſii or Bacchi: the firſt was ſon of Deucalion, or Noah, the ſame called Oſiris; the ſecond was ſon of Proſerpine, Ceres, who was painted with horns, to ſhew he was the firſt that yoked oxen to plow the land; the third, the ſon of Semele, born in adultery, in the city Meros, which ſignifies a thigh; whence the poets feign that Jupiter bred him in his thigh (6).

Geryon ſtands the ſeventh in the fabulous Beroſian liſt of kings; and the firſt from whence the light of true hiſtory is drawn.

He was an African or Libyan, of a gigantic ſtature, and a bloody tyrant, who began his reign in the year of the flood five hundred and fourteen, and reigned, according to ſome, twenty-five, and thirty-four years according to others (7): againſt him came Oſiris, or, as he is called by others, Dionyſius, king of Egypt, with a powerful army, defeated and killed the tyrant, and divided his kingdom between his three ſons, commonly called the three Geryons, having firſt exacted a ſtrict promiſe from them, that they would reign amicably, and abſtain from thoſe plunders, ravages, and cruelties, for which he had ſo juſtly puniſhed their father.

(6) Vid. Mar. Hiſt. Spain. Hiſp. Subandiluvii 514.

(7) Conf. Garibay, compend. Vaſ. Chron.

This

This Geryon was alſo called Deabus, and is ſurnamed by the Greeks, Chryſo, on account of the vaſt wealth which he had gotten by plunders and robberies. He is ſaid to have brought over a number of wild or Scenite Arabs, and to have been the founder of Gerona: Diodorus Siculus (8) makes him the ſon of Chryſdor, or the golden ſword, the ſon of Meduſa: from his defeat is ſuppoſed to have ſprung the fable of Hercules's overcoming him, and carrying his oxen away (9); this was his tenth labour when he took the oxen out of Iberia or Spain, in the further part of which he erected, ſay my authors (1), his two pillars, as the utmoſt limits of the then known world. Theſe ten labours he achieved, as the fable ſays, in a little above eight years. In this expedition he is affirmed to have killed Antæus, a famous giant of a monſtrous ſize, who, when weary with wreſtling, or labour, was immediately refreſhed by touching the earth. Pliny makes him the founder of Tangier. Hercules overcame him with wreſtling, and ſlew him; and after him, the tyrant Buſiris, in his way through Egypt.

Juſtin makes mention of this Hercules, and of his vaſt herds of cattle (2); but Strabo and Pliny look upon the whole as a mere fable (3); and Arrian further affirms (4), that there never was ſuch a king as Geryon in Spain. Ariſtotle ſays, that Hercules (whom ſome Spaniſh authors affirm to have been not the Egyptian, but the Greek one, and ſon of Jupiter by Alcmena (5) had been inticed over into Spain by the richneſs of its inhabitants; whence a law is pretended to have been enacted amongſt them, forbidding the uſe or poſſeſſion of ſilver, which was ſtill in force ſome time after the coming thither of the Carthaginians (6):

(8) Lib. IX. c. iv. Vide & Aldrete, var, antiguedad, lib. IV. c. xviii. (9) Univ. Hiſt. Vol. XVIII. B. IV. c. xxiv. p. 504. n. (C). (1) Idem, Vol. VI. B. I. c. xvi. n. (I). (2) Hiſt. lib. XLIV. (3) Strabo, lib. II. Plin. lib. IV. c. xxii. (4) De geſt. Alexan. Mag. lib. II. (5) Vid. Gerundens. paralipom. lib. II. Ant. Nebugens. & al. (6) Vaſei. Chronic. Sub andiluv. 539.

ſomething

ſomething like this law was likewiſe among ſome of the ancient Gauls.

The eighth king, or rather ſucceſſours of Geryon, was the three Geryons, ſaid to have been all of one birth, and the laſt of the Geryonic race, who reigned with ſurpriſing concord, and are thought to have given birth to the fable that repreſents them with a three-fold body: theſe being ſuppoſed to have had a hand in the death of Oſiris, in revenge of that of their father: Hercules, his ſon, brought a great army from Egypt, overcame and ſlew them, one after another, in ſingle combat: it is therefore ſaid, that the columns between the Calpean and Abilean mountains were ſet up in memory of this exploit. They had reigned, according to Garibay, near forty years, when they received their overthrow, and were buried in the iſland of Gades (7). Hercules, who did not come ſo much to conquer that kingdom, as to deliver the world from tyrants and robbers, had no ſooner overcome the three Geryons, than he made ready to paſs into Italy, and left the government of Spain to his ſon Hiſpal: by this fabulous account he is ſuppoſed to have built Seville, which was afterwards rebuilt and beautified by Cæſar: and from Hiſpal began a new ſucceſſion of Spaniſh kings: Hiſpan ſucceeded him, who made the city of Gades his chief reſidence (8). Hercules hearing of his grandſon Hiſpan's death, returned into Spain, and reigned there from the year of the flood ſix hundred and fifty-eight. Now old Geryon began his reign in the year of the flood five hundred and fourteen. This fabulous account therefore agrees with hiſtory, who places the Phœnician hero to have flouriſhed about the days of righteous Abraham. Hercules, grown very old, bequeathed the Spaniſh kingdom to Heſperus, one of his captains and companions, who died, and was buried at Gades, or Cadiz, where that ſtately monument was erected to him, according to Pomponius Mela, that

(7) Ubi ſup. lib. IV. c. xii. ad fin. (8) Idem, ib. in fin. c. xiv.

famous geographer, born on the ſhore of the Straits of Gibraltar, between Tarifa and Cadiz, at the ancient port of Bæſippo, who ſays, that they were the Tyrians who built that magnificent temple to the Hercules, who ſlew the three Geryons, and which became famous both for its antiquity and vaſt treaſures (9): this temple became in high veneration, not only among the Spaniards, but was reſorted to by moſt nations of Europe, Aſia, and Africa.

Heſperus was the eleventh king from Tubal, or Thubal, as the Spaniards, ever fond of their own antiquity, pretend to maintain, by adopting and relying upon the fabulous Beroſus, who affirms, that Tubal went into Spain in the year of the flood one hundred and thirty-four until the reign of Romus, the nineteenth monarch of that people: in whoſe reign the Phœnicians, according to this fabulous account, are ſaid to have made their firſt entrance into Spain; and about the ſame time alſo the famed Greek chieftain Jacchus, or Bacchus, ſurnamed Liber Pater, not ſo much with a deſign to conquer that country, as to ſpread his fame and colonies on this, as he had done on the other ſide of the world, where he is ſaid to have carried his conqueſts as far as the Indies. As he travelled through this province of Andaluſia, he built the famed city Nebriſa, in the province of Bætica, ſince called Veneria, and now Lebrixa, the native place of the learned Anthony Nebriſſenſis, often quoted in this chapter; who ſays, on this head, that Luſus, the ſon of Bacchus, gave name to Luſitania; and that this expedition happened two hundred years before the deſtruction of Troy.

The one and twentieth of theſe fabulous kings was Erythræus, in whoſe reign is placed the founding of Carthage. He is ſaid to have given name to the famed iſland of Erythæa, or Erythia, as

(9) Mela, de ſit. orb. lib. III. c. vi.

it

it is called by Mela (1) and Pliny (2), an iſland, which has been ſought for far and near, of which I have already treated.

In the reign of Gargoras, the ſucceeding king, Mneſtheus built and peopled the port, that bore his name, on the coaſts of Andaluſia, near the city of Gades, or Cadiz; in which laſt, as the Andaluſians ſay, was a ſtately temple, built by the ſame warrior, which became in time famous, and much reſorted to, for its oracle, from all the three parts of the world: ſo much for the fabulous account, in which we may eaſily perceive the connection it bears to real hiſtory, mentioned in the former part of this book. I ſhall confine myſelf to my plan, keeping within, or near theſe Straits; and Mariana obſerves in his hiſtory of Spain, that after the expulſion of the Phœnicians, and return of the Babylonians, the Phocenſes, inhabitants of a city ſo called in Ionia, of the leſſer Aſia, ſailed to Spain, and planted in certain iſlands, called Aphrodiſiæ, oppoſite to Tarifa; but, ſays he, all theſe iſlands are loſt, except one called Junonia. That after the death of Argantonius, great revolutions happened, and Spain, like a ſhip without a rudder or pilot, was toſſed by every wave: that when the Phœnicians returned, and had taken Cadiz, with a deſign to paſs over from that iſland to the continent the very firſt opportunity that might offer, for they wanted a pretence, and thought none ſo good as that of religion; they aſked leave of the natives to build a temple to Hercules, feigning that he had appeared and ordered them ſo to do: having by this fraud obtained their deſires, they built a temple in the nature of a fort; many under colour of devotion reſorted thither, and in a ſmall time it grew to the grandeur of a city; which is ſuppoſed to have ſtood where now Medina Sidonia is; which, ſays Mariana, the name Sidon ſeems to confirm, and the ſmall diſtance from the coaſt of the iſle of Cadiz: that after this, they took and built ſeveral ſmall towns,

(1) De Situ. lib. III. c. vi. (2) Lib. IV. c. xxii.

and poſſeſſed themſelves of the city Turditum, which ſtood betwixt Xeres and Arcos; of this city the Turditani, an ancient people of Bætica, that extended from the Guadiana to the ocean, took their name: that the Baſtuli reached from Tarifa along the Mediterranean ſea, to a town called Barea, now ſuppoſed to be Vera: and that the Turduli began at the port of Mneſtheus, now port St. Mary's, and ran north and eaſt, as far as Sierra Morena, and the furtheſt part of the province of Bætica.

The natives, provoked by the wrongs which they received from the Phœnicians, and growing jealous of their new city of Medina Sidonia, appointed Baucius Capetus, prince of the Turditani, to command their army: having gathered a mighty one, they fell upon the Phœnicians wholly unprovided, and in a ſhort time took all the towns they had built, and gave the plunder of all their riches to their ſoldiers. The city Medina Sidonia followed the fate of the reſt, and all the inhabitants were put to the ſword; ſuch was their deſire of revenge, that laying aſide all compaſſion and zeal for religion, they fired, and laid the temple level with the ground! Thus all the riches they had many years been heaping, and the ſtately buildings they had with great coſt been erecting, were deſtroyed, and nothing left the Phœnicians on the continent. The inhabitants therefore of Cadiz finding they could have no accommodation with the natives, were obliged to aſk aid of the Carthaginians, as relief from Tyre was too tedious: the Carthaginians being maſters of the ſea, were determined not to let ſlip ſo fair an opportunity. Till this time, continues this Spaniſh author, they never had a footing in Spain: that the command of the fleet was given to Maherbal, who arrived at Cadiz, ſays he, in the two hundred and thirty-ſixth year after the building of Rome: that from this time they ravaged the coaſts of Spain, and raiſed forts along the ſhores in ſeveral places. The Spaniards being provoked again, choſe Baucius their general, in the city of Turditum, who gathered what men he could, and ſurpriſed a

fort

fort near that city, putting the garriſon to the ſword, but Maherbal eſcaped with ſome few by a by-way: this done, Baucius made a great ſlaughter of the enemy in ſeveral places, which occaſioned an immediate truce. The Carthaginians fortified themſelves along the coaſt, and now and then made incurſions, at the ſame time blaming the inſolence of the ſoldiers; and by this ſtratagem deluded that ignorant people. Baucius died, and the Carthaginians made war upon the Phœnicians, conquered them, and expelled them the iſle of Cadiz.

Authors will have it, ſays Mariana, that at the ſiege of Gadir, one Pephaſmenes, a Tyrian, invented the engine called aries, or the battering-ram.

What happened in theſe parts of Spain, after theſe times, I have already related in the foregoing ſheets; I ſhall only for the preſent obſerve, that Mariana imputes the Herculean columns to the Grecian Hercules; for he ſays, that Jaſon, the Theſſalian, deſiring to gain honour and enrich himſelf, built a great ſhip, and taking into it Hercules the Theban, Orpheus, Caſtor, Pollux, and many more, after pillaging all the coaſts of Aſia, came as far as the mouth of the Straits, where Hercules built a fort called Heraclea, now Gibraltar; whence they made incurſions, robbing the country, and had ſeveral encounters with the natives; thence they ſailed about to Saguntum, and were well received, as being all Greeks: from Saguntum they went over to Majorca, and took Bocorris, the king of that iſland; but underſtanding there was no gold there, having taken in proviſions, and ſome large oxen, they paſſed into Italy, where Hercules ſlew Cacus, and then returned into Greece. Hecateus denies that ever this Hercules came into Spain; but, ſays father Mariana, Diodorus and all other authors teſtify to the contrary.

I ſhall not diſpute whether this Hercules came into Spain or not; but the Greeks were as fond to attribute all the noble actions of other nations to themſelves, as the French nation are to theirs:

theirs: but the Greeks were mere children to the Phœnicians or Egyptians; and have aſſumed the exploits of the ancient Hercules to their own; and it would be tedious and endleſs to enter upon their various aſſumptions.

I ſhall now juſt mention ſome events as they occur, before I begin the hiſtory of Calpe.

Mariana writes, that there was a bloody war began betwixt this province of Bætica and the Luſitani, nations divided by the river Guadiana: its beginning, ſays he, was from ſmall quarrels among the ſhepherds. The Carthaginians ſided with the Luſitani: and a great neighbouring city, ſuppoſed to be Iberia, aſſiſted thoſe of Bætica, now Andaluſia. The rage on both ſides was ſo great, that the very women took up arms; at length they came to a battle, and had eighty thouſand men ſlain, and among them the commander in chief of the Carthaginians. Mago, the Carthaginian, hearing of this battle, left the Balearic iſles, (Majorca, Minorca, and Ivica) to aſſiſt his countrymen, and obliged the people of the city, who had ſuſtained great loſs in the action, to fire it, and ſeek new places to inhabit.

Nothing remarkable happened in Spain (3), till the year of of Rome three hundred and twenty-ſeven, in the time of the Peloponneſian war: in the ſecond whereof, a terrible plague raged all over the world. In Sicily, at this time, the Carthaginians were poſſeſſed of ſome towns near the promontory Lilybæum, not far from Trepana, which was a great eye-ſore to the people of Agrigentum, now Gergento. It happened as the Carthaginians were offering ſacrifice in a wood, the Agrigentines fell upon them, and ſlaughtered the whole, except a few that fled, and lurked in the woods. The news having ſpread to Carthage, they ſent two thouſand men, and five hundred Malorquines with ſlings. By this reinforcement they were enabled to vanquiſh their enemies,

(3) Vid. Mariana's Hiſt. of Spain.

and

and to make themſelves maſters of Agrigentum, after a ſiege of two years, in the year of Rome three hundred and forty-ſix: the end of this war was the beginning of a greater; for Dionyſius, the tyrant of Syracuſe, upon that iſle, taking under his protection thoſe that fled from Agrigentum, the Carthaginians, having to do with ſo powerful an enemy, reſtored Cadiz to the Spaniards, to oblige them; and only kept the temple of Hercules, and ſome ſmall forts, raiſed an army under Himilco Cipo, of fifteen thouſand African foot, and five thouſand horſe, beſides ten thouſand Spaniards, and with this force he entered Sicily. About this time, the Carthaginians diſcovered an iſland in the vaſt Atlantic ocean; ſome of the people remained in it, but the reſt returned and gave an account of what they had ſeen to the ſenate of Carthage: where, as Ariſtotle ſays, this diſcovery ought to be concealed; and to that purpoſe, the diſcoverers were put to death, leſt the citizens, allured by the riches of the iſle, and weary of war, ſhould abandon the city. Some, continues Mariana, are of opinion, it was one of the Canaries; others, that it was Hiſpaniola, or ſome part of the continent of America.

After this, Hanno was ſent to govern Cadiz; but he being very covetous, it provoked the Spaniards to conſpire againſt the Carthaginians: all on a ſudden they appeared in arms, ſlew many of their enemies, and plundered their goods: upon this, Hanno ſent to Carthage for ſuccour: theſe auxiliaries made great havock in Andaluſia. Hanno was ſucceeded, but by whom, is not known, which was about the year of Rome three hundred and ninety-eight, which was before the birth of Chriſt three hundred and fifty. The war now which employed the Carthaginians in Sicily, gave peace to Spain. The governour, who ſucceeded Hanno, dying, one Boodes was ſent in his place; and, after him, Maherbal, but no account can be had of any actions of theirs, or what governour followed Boodes.

The year of Rome five hundred and ſeven, and laſt of the Punic war, was fatal to Spain, for a great drought and violent earthquakes; by which, part of the iſland of Gades was broken off, and ſunk into the ſea.

Hamilcar came to Cadiz a ſecond time, and by the aſſiſtance of the Turditani, who were always in amity with the Carthaginians, not only recovered that part which had been loſt, but alſo poſſeſſed himſelf of all the province of Bætica, in the year of Rome five hundred and ſixteen. Strabo ſays, that the Spaniards at that time were ſo rich, that their mangers and water-troughs were made of ſilver.

After this, there were ſome diſturbances in the province of Bætica; and Hamilcar was ſlain by the natives in battle with thoſe people, about the ninth year after this his ſecond coming into Spain. The action was ſo bloody, that of above forty thouſand men he had in his army, two thirds were ſlaughtered, the reſt of them, under favour of the night, eſcaped to the neighbouring towns that had held out for them. Livy ſays, this battle was fought near a place called Caſtrum Altum.

After this ſignal defeat, the Carthaginian forces were turned againſt the province of Bætica, or Andaluſia, where they totally ſubverted a colony of Phocenians. The name of it is not known.

Aſdrubal ſucceeded Hamilcar, and went to Cadiz in the five hundred and twenty-fourth year of Rome: he ſettled the affairs of Spain in peace, then ſailed to Carthage, and ſoon after returned to Gadira, marched into Spain and built New Carthage, now Carthagena.

Hannibal arrived in Spain, and joined him as his lieutenant, in the year of Rome five hundred and twenty-eight. Aſdrubal being ſlain by a ſlave while he was offering ſacrifice, the government was conferred upon Hannibal: and when he marched for Italy, he left the command in Spain to his brother Aſdrubal.

After

After this, the Romans entered Spain, and the actions between them, the Carthaginians, and Spaniards, in this province of Bætica, I have already related, but ſhall touch upon ſome affairs that have happened in this part of Spain, as I find them in Mariana apart from other authors: ſo I find that Mummius made great ſlaughter of the Spaniards, whoſe poor remains retreated to Cadiz, where they embarked, and went over into Africa.

As there is ſomething noble in the war which Veriatus waged with the Romans, and as ſome of the ſcenes of action lie in Bætica, near Tarifa and Cadiz, with two remarkable inſcriptions, I beg leave to give a place in theſe ſheets of that whole war.

The ſhocking cruelty of Galba to the inhabitants of Spain, inſtead of terrifying, increaſed the people's hatred: they choſe Veriatus for their chieftain; he was a native of Luſitania, of mean parentage, as being in his youth a ſhepherd: leaving that courſe of life, he fell to robbing, and having by degrees got together a good number of men, made excurſions into the neighbouring country ſubject to the Romans, about the mouth of the river Guadiana. Marcus Vitellius ſucceeded Galba in his command, in the year of Rome ſix hundred and four; his firſt care was in time to ſuppreſs Veriatus, who, leaving Luſitania, paſſed the Strait of Cadiz, and kept himſelf in the faſtneſſes, reſolving not to come to a battle: on the other ſide, the prætor having beſet thoſe places, ſo ſtraitened thoſe mutineers, that they under-hand began to treat of ſubmitting. Vitellius willingly gave ear to them, but Veriatus, underſtanding what was in hand, diſſuaded his men, and having brought them to his beck, drew out as if he intended to fight: he placed his cavalry in the front, while his foot ſtole away through the woods, and then they all made to Tribola, a city, where Veriatus hoped to make good his ground, and protract the war; the Romans purſuing, near the city he laid in ambuſh, where four thouſand of them were killed, together with their prætor; the reſt fled to Tarifa, whence offering again to hazard a battle, with the

aſſiſtance of the Celtiberi, they were all cut off. In the year ſix hundred and five, Caius Plaucius ſucceeded Vitellius as prætor of Hiſpania Ulterior: at the time of his coming, Veriatus ravaged the lands of the Turditani and Carpetani. As ſoon as the Romans came in ſight, he made a ſhew of flying, and they purſuing him without order, he faced about and cut off four thouſand of the foremoſt. The prætor ſtill followed them as far as the mountain of Venus, where Veriatus, after paſſing the Tagus, was retired: here again they engaged, and no leſs a number of the Romans were ſlain than before, which ſo terrified the prætor, that though it was in the midſt of ſummer, he ſhut himſelf within the ſtrong towns as if it had been the dead of winter. This battle is believed by ſome to have been fought in Luſitania, near the city Ebora, by reaſon of a tomb preſerved there to this day, with a Latin inſcription, to this effect: "I LVCIVS SILO SABINVS, BEING STRVCK THROVGH "WITH MANY DARTS AND ARROWS, IN THE WAR AGAINST "VERIATVS, IN THE TERRITORY OF EBORA, IN THE PROVINCE "OF LVSITANIA, AND CARRIED OFF VPON SOLDIERS SHOVL- "DERS, ORDERED CAIVS PLAVCIVS, THE PRÆTOR, TO BVILD "THIS TOMB, AT MY COST, AND THEREIN WOVLD I HAVE NO "OTHER PERSON LAID, WHETHER FREE, OR A SLAVE; IF THE "CONTRARY SHOVLD HAPPEN, I DESIRE THAT THE BONES OF "ANY OTHER TO BE TAKEN OVT OF MY TOMB, IF MY COVN- "TRY BE FREE."

In the mean time Galba was impeached at Rome for his perfidiouſneſs towards the Luſitanians; but the great riches which he had gathered in that province, brought him off, though Cato and Scribonius the tribune accuſed him: after this, in the year ſix hundred and ſix, Claudius Unimanus was ſent from Rome to the war againſt Veriatus, and was by him vanquiſhed, himſelf ſlain, great part of his army ſlaughtered, and the Faſces, which were enſigns of his dignity, ſet up as trophies on the mountains of Luſitania. This battle was fought near the town of Urige in Portugal,

tugal, as appears by a ſtone there, which is one of the moſt notable Roman monuments in Spain; the inſcription it bears, only ſupplying a few letters, is as follows: "I CAIVS MINVCIVS, SON TO CAIVS "LEMONIA LVBATVS, TRIBVNE OF THE LEGION DECIMA GE- "MINA, WHOM THE GENERAL CLAVDIVS VNIMANVS LEFT "FOR DEAD, BECAVSE SENSELESS OF MY WOVNDS, BEING PRE- "SERVED BY THE CARE OF EBVTIVS, A LVSITANIAN SOLDIER, "AND DRESSED, LIVED SOME DAYS, AND DIED WITH SORROW, "FOR NOT GRATIFYING, AFTER THE ROMAN MANNER, HIM "THAT HAD WELL DESERVED IT." The following year, which was ſix hundred and ſeven, Caius Nigidius, prætor, was ſent inſtead of him that was killed: he fought with Veriatus, near the city Viſco, in Luſitania, or Portugal, and with the like ſucceſs to the former. After Nigidius, C. Lelius, ſurnamed the Wiſe, came into Spain, and was the firſt that broke Veriatus, being a man that relied more on policy, than open force, and hereby gained great renown. In the year ſix hundred and nine, Q. Fabius Maximus Æmilianus, being conſul, came into Spain, and the ſenate, there being a ſcarcity of old ſoldiers, made new levies, and raiſed fifteen thouſand foot and two thouſand horſe: theſe forces landed at Orſuna, ſuppoſed to be Oſſuna, in Andaluſia: here the conſul kept and trained his new ſoldiers. He himſelf went to Cadiz to offer ſacrifice and make his vows in the temple of Hercules. On the other ſide, Veriatus having intelligence of the preparations made by the Romans, reſolved to meet them: his coming was unexpected, ſo he ſlew the Roman foragers, and their guards. The conſul being returned from Cadiz, notwithſtanding Veriatus offered him battle, for ſome days refuſed it, only ſkirmiſhing, to try his men, and ſhew them that the enemy was to be overcome. At length he drew out, and in a pitched battle put Veriatus to flight. Winter then drawing on, the Romans marched to Cordova, where they wintered; but Veriatus continued in the mountains, his men being more hardy, and inured to the cold:

thence he ſent to all parts for ſuccours, but particularly to the Arevaci, Beli, and Tithii. Thoſe people willingly gave ear to the propoſals, which gave occaſion to the ſecond war of Numantia.

At Rome, in the year ſix hundred and ten, the two conſuls, Servilius Sulpicius Galba, and L. Aurelius Cotta, contended for the government of Spain; the ſenate could not agree about it; and Scipio being aſked which of them he thought the moſt able, anſwered, "Neither; for the one has nothing, and the other never "enough:" hereby ſhewing, that neither a poor, nor a covetous man is fit to govern: whereupon the prætor Popilius was ſent. Veriatus gave Quintius a great overthrow at the foot of mount Venus. Metellus ſubdued the Celtiberi, who was continued in his command in the year ſix hundred and twelve; and the conſul Q. Fabius Servilius was ſent againſt Veriatus with eighteen thouſand foot, and fifteen hundred horſe: beſides thoſe forces, Micipſa the ſon of Maſſiniſſa, ſent him ten elephants, and three hundred horſe out of Afric. Notwithſtanding all this mighty army, joined to what was before in the Roman pay, Veriatus, who lay hid in the mountains of Andaluſia, with frequent excurſions did great damage, and obtained many advantages, till the Romans removed their camp to Utica, formerly a city of Andaluſia: then Veriatus, for want of proviſions, retired with his army into Luſitania. The conſul overcame two captains of robbers, called Curio and Apuleius, and carried ſome towns by force that held for Veriatus, with ſtrong garriſons. A great booty was taken, and a multitude of priſoners, five hundred that were moſt guilty he put to death, and ten thouſand he ſold as ſlaves. Metellus gained much honour by entirely reducing the Celtiberi, and taking the famous cities Contrebia, Verſobriga, and Centobriga; then hearing, that the conſul Quintus Pompeius was appointed to ſucceed him, he was ſo offended at it, that to weaken his forces, he diſmiſſed the ſoldiers, neglected the magazines, and ſtarved the elephants;

phants; for which reaſon, the triumph he had otherwiſe well deſerved, was refuſed him at Rome. Quintus Pompeius came to Spain in the year ſix hundred and thirteen; Servilianus was continued by order of the ſenate in his command, where he received into his favour Canoba, a captain of robbers, who ſubmitted himſelf, and forced Veriatus, who lay before the city Vacia, to raiſe his ſiege and fly away; as he was active and vigilant, ſo was he cruel; for he cut off the hands of all Canoba's men, and five hundred other priſoners, becauſe they had deſerted from his camp. The Romans laying ſiege to the city Erifana, Veriatus, without being diſcovered, got in by night, and the next morning made ſuch a furious ſally, that he put the enemy to flight, killing many of them; thoſe that eſcaped, drew up in a place of no ſtrength, where they were in danger of periſhing; but Veriatus took hold of this opportunity to obtain an advantageous peace, which was concluded, and by virtue thereof, the Romans ſaved their lives. Veriatus was called a friend of the people of Rome, and all that his men had plundered, was allowed them: a great ſhame and diſhonour to the majeſty of the Roman empire!

Quintus Pompeius held the government of Hiſpania Citerior two years. Servilius, who, by order of the ſenate, had vacated the peace he had made before, near the city Arſa put Veriatus to the rout, and purſued him to Carpetania, where by a ſtratagem he got away: he drew out his men, as if intended to give battle, placing his horſe in front, and whilſt the Romans were forming their body, cauſed his foot to ſlip away through the woods that were near: that done, the horſe with the ſame ſwiftneſs got off. The conſul, deſpairing of taking ſo ſubtle an enemy, marched to the Oectones in Eſtremadura; and from thence, without ſtopping, into Galicia, where all was in diſorder, and full of murders and robberies. Veriatus, tired with ſo laſting a war, and fearing his men ſhould make their peace at the price of his head, ſent three

ambaſſadors

ambaſſadors to treat with the conſul. The means he choſe to ſecure himſelf, proved his ruin; for Servilius corrupted the ambaſſadors, who, at their return, murdered Veriatus as he lay ſleeping. His funeral was honoured with the tears of his ſoldiers, afterwards with ſports, and the ſacrifice of much cattle. The murderers petitioning the ſenate at Rome, for a reward of their ſervice, received anſwer, "That the ſenate and people of Rome "did not approve of ſoldiers killing their general." To Veriatus ſucceeded in the command, one Tantalus; but he not being of equal authority, valour, and conduct, ſoon ſubmitted himſelf to the conſul, and was received into favour: theſe and the other Luſitani were diſarmed, and lands allotted them.

Marcus Craſſus (the richeſt citizen of Rome) whoſe father and mother had been put to death, fled into Spain, where he had many friends, on account of favours they had received from his father; but moſt towns being of Marius's faction, he durſt not appear in public, and therefore hid himſelf in a cave, which was in the land of one Vibius Pacianus, an intimate friend of his, who being informed of his coming, leſt his going to ſee him might cauſe ſome ſuſpicion, ordered a ſlave every day to leave ſuch proviſions as he would give him, upon a certain rock, threatening him with death, if he ventured to ſee who it was for, or diſcloſe the ſecret. In this manner Craſſus lived for ſome time, till the news was brought that Marius and Cinna were overthrown by Sylla: then coming out of the cave, by fair means he drew to his party many cities of Spain, and among them Malaga, which, nevertheleſs, was plundered by the ſoldiers, againſt his will, as he pretended, but perhaps he only counterfeited, and had permitted it, to gain the good will of the army. The cave where Craſſus lay hid, is ſhewn to this day, betwixt Ronda and Gibraltar, near a town called Ximena, in which, it is ſaid, are all the marks that Plutarch gives of it, concludes my author Mariana: however, as he

he has quoted Plutarch, the reader cannot be diſpleaſed with my relating this affair from Plutarch himſelf: when Cinna and Marius, ſays Plutarch (4), had got the power in their hands, it was ſoon perceived, that they came not for any good they intended to their country, but with a deſign to ruin and extirpate the nobility; for they ſlew as many as they could lay their hands on, amongſt whom was Craſſus, his father, and brother; as for himſelf, being very young, for the preſent he eſcaped the danger; but underſtanding that he was every way beſet, and hunted after by the tyrants, taking with him three friends and ten ſervants, with all poſſible ſpeed he fled into Spain, where he had formerly contracted a great acquaintance, while his father was prætor of that country; but finding all people in a conſternation, and dreading the cruelty of Marius, as if he was already at their doors, he durſt not diſcover himſelf to any body, but lay hid in a ſpacious cave near the ſea ſhore, belonging to Vibius Pacianus, to whom he ſent one of his ſervants to ſound him, for among his other neceſſities he began to be in want of proviſions. Vibius was well pleaſed at his eſcape, and enquiring of his ſervant the place of his abode, and the number of his companions, he went not to him himſelf for fear of ſuſpicion, but commanded his ſteward to provide every day a good meal's meat, and carry it, and leave it upon ſuch a ſtone, and ſo return without taking any further notice, or being inquiſitive, promiſing him his liberty if he did as he commanded, and threatening to kill him if he did otherwiſe. The cave is not far from the ſea, made by cloſing together of ſome cliffs, through the chinks of which enters a refreſhing and delicate gale. When you are entered, you find a wonderful high roof, and a great many very large rooms one within another; neither is it void of water or light, for a very pleaſant and wholeſome ſpring runs through the cliffs, and the natural chinks let in the

(4) In Vit. Craſſus.

light all day long: the air within is pure and clear, that which is foggy and unhealthy being carried away with the ſtream. While Craſſus remained here, the ſteward brought them what was neceſſary, but never ſaw them, nor knew any thing of the matter, though they within, expecting him at cuſtomary times, watched his coming, and ſaw him every day: neither was their entertainment ſuch as juſt to keep them alive, but very plentiful and delicious; for Pacianus treated him with all imaginable civility; and conſidering he was a young gentleman, he reſolved to gratify a little his youthful inclinations; for to give juſt what is needful, ſeems rather to come from a ſtranger than from a hearty friend: taking with him therefore two handſome damſels, he ſhewed them the place, and bid them go in boldly, aſſuring them they were in no danger. When Craſſus and his friends ſaw them, thy concluded they were betrayed; wherefore demanding what they were, and what they would have, they, according as they were inſtructed, anſwered, "They came to wait upon their maſter, who "lay concealed in that cave." Upon this, Craſſus perceiving it to be a piece of gallantry in Vibius in order to divert him, he took the damſels to him, and kept them with him as long as he ſtaid. They gave an account to Vibius from time to time of what they wanted, and how their caſe ſtood. One of theſe ladies, though ſhe was then very old, Feneſtella ſays, he had ſeen, and often heard her tell the ſtory.

When Craſſus had laid concealed there eight months, as ſoon as he underſtood Cinna was dead, he made no ſcruple of appearing publicly: immediately a great number of people reſorted to him, out of which he ſelected two thouſand five hundred, with whom he viſited many of the cities as they lay in his way; and many write, that he ſacked the town of Malaga, though he very obſtinately denied it: hence, getting together ſome ſhips, he paſſed into Africa, and joined Metellus Pius, an eminent perſon, that had raiſed a very conſiderable army; but upon ſome difference

between

between him and Metellus, he ſtaid not long there, but went over to Sylla, by whom he was very much eſteemed.

Pompey was firſt in Spain, and gained the affections of the Spaniards, particularly in the province of Bætica, before Cæſar came into that country, whoſe eſtimation was continued to his memory by the ſervices they rendered to his ſons. Julius Cæſar entered the country in the ſix hundred and eighty-fifth year of Rome. In ſeven hundred and one Pompey married Julia, the daughter of Cæſar, but when Julia died, the knot which held them together was untied: and each ſtrove for the ſovereignty of the world, whence enſued that civil war, the effects whereof were felt throughout the Roman empire.

Varro, who was in Spain, robbed the temple of Hercules, ſtanding in Cadiz, of all its treaſure, though then eſteemed one of the moſt ſacred places in the world. The year ſeven hundred and ſix was famous for the victories obtained by Cæſar at Pharſalia, over Pompey the Great; and in Egypt over Ptolemy: thence Cæſar returned to Rome, and haſtened over into Africa, where he vanquiſhed Juba, and the Romans who adhered to that king. In ſeven hundred and nine was fought the famous battle of Munda, between Cæſar and the young Pompeys: the latter loſt thirty thouſand foot, and three thouſand horſe. Cæſar loſt but one thouſand, and five hundred wounded. The town of Munda, ſays Mariana, is ſix leagues from Malaga; which is twenty-four of our Engliſh miles. Cæſar, ſpeaking of this action, uſed to ſay, "That he had often fought for honour and glory, but that "day he fought for his life." Mariana ſays, he took Cordova by aſſault, and put to the ſword twenty thouſand of the citizens, who had followed Pompey's faction: that Cæſar having gathered vaſt ſums of money, to effect which he ſpared not the temple of Hercules, and returned to Rome.

There are, ſays this author, (i. e. Mariana) many monuments of this war in Spain, and particularly at Talavera; where, on that

part of the wall, oppoſite to St. Peter's church, theſe words were in his days to be ſeen, cut in ſtone, "TO CNEIVS POMPEY, THE "SON OF POMPEY THE GREAT."

Spain was entirely ſubdued by Auguſtus in the one hundred and ninety-eighth year after their firſt entrance under the command of Cneius Cepius Calvus; which was a longer time than they ſpent in conquering any other province. I ſhall not recapitulate, and therefore ſtep forwards to the time when thoſe powers of fierce and barbarous nations, which, like a torrent, ſpread themſelves throughout all Spain, and fixed themſelves in different parts of the country: and this province of Bætica fell to the Vandals and Silingians. In the year four hundred and twelve of Chriſt, Gundericus was king of the Vandals and Silingians: the Silingians were defeated by the Goths, in a battle near Tarifa, and ſo entirely brought under, that they received Gothic governours: the Vandals and Suevians, terrified at this ſucceſs, ſubmitted themſelves to the Romans.

Genſericus, king of the Vandals, paſſed over into Africa, with eighty thouſand fighting men: the Silingians ſtaid in Spain, eſpecially in that part of this province of Bætica about Seville; upon which account, they being mixed with, and eſteemed part of the Vandals, the country loſing its former name of Bætica, was called Vandaloſia, now Andaluſia.

Leuvigildus, king of the Goths, in the year of Chriſt five hundred and ſeventy-two, made war on the Romans: they came to a battle among the Baſtetani, where now ſtands the city Baca: the Romans were defeated, and by that means expelled the whole province: the country about Malaga was laid waſte with fire and ſword. Medina Sidonia was taken by night, being betrayed by Framidancus.

In the year ſix hundred and ſixty, the power of the Mahometans grew formidable in Afric, for Abdalla, duke of Moabia, the fourth from the falſe prophet, in a great battle overthrew Gregory,

Gregory, the Roman general and governour of Africa for the Romans, and by that means poſſeſſed himſelf of all that vaſt province. The Goths of old were maſters of Mauritania Tingitana, and particularly of Ceuta, and the country about it: all the reſt, except this part, fell into the hands of the Mahometans, who, proud with ſucceſs, from that time founded a new empire in Afric, in whoſe kings, according to the cuſtom of thoſe people, was the ſpiritual, as well as temporal power, called Miramamolines, which ſignifies princes of the faithful; as thoſe of the ſame name in Aſia, ſtiled themſelves Caliphs.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.


G.R. III.